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Nazarkin Interviewed on Geneva Conference

LD2009122788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1000 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Geneva, 20 Sep (TASS)—The disarmament conference in Geneva has ended another session here. Ambassador Yuriy Nazarkin, leader of the Soviet delegation to the conference, has been asked by TASS correspondent Boris Shabayev to comment on the session's outcome.

Question: Has it been possible to achieve any specific results at the session and make headway toward signing agreements in the field of disarmament?

Answer: If I am to speak of the practical results of the session, I should start, of course, with talks on the prohibition of chemical weapons. At present it is the only area where ongoing work is connected with preparing a draft international agreement.

During the session, the draft of a future convention banning chemical weapons has been enlarged to include a whole number of new texts, and a search has been conducted for solutions to outstanding issues.

How can conditions be ensured whereby the development and manufacture of chemical weapons would be ruled out, while the normal progress of peaceful chemical industry would not be disrupted? I think this issue has been the main one at the session, but I cannot say that an answer to it has already been found. But in any case ways of approaching a solution to it have been researched most thoroughly.

Another question is how chemical weapons stocks and chemical weapons production facilities can be destroyed without detracting from the security of any state participating in the convention.

A certain rapprochement of the positions can be noted on this issue, although there still are difficulties with the "security margin" concept put forward by France. A definition has been found for a "chemical weapons production facility" and progress has been made in working out procedures for challenge inspections, issues of international cooperation in peaceful chemical industry and those of assistance to states in the event of their coming under attack involving chemical warfare agents. Work on these issues will be continued at the end of November, early December this year.

I would classify among definite positive results the preparation of an experiment on international inspections at enterprises of the chemical industry, the Soviet delegation chief noted. The conducting of such an experiment was proposed by the Soviet Union, and during this summer session the participants in the talks expressed support for such a proposal. A number of states have declared a desire to participate directly in such an experiment, that is, to nominate one chemical enterprise each at which an inspection would be conducted in order to form a prototype for a future inspection within the framework of the convention. The United States, Britain, the FRG, Sweden, Canada, and other states have declared readiness for such an experiment along with the Soviet Union.

What is the point of this experiment? The main provisions that will govern the conduct of international inspections at enterprises of the chemical industry have been elaborated at the talks. Now it is important to measure them up with the real conditions in various countries at such enterprises. Then, taking account of the results of these trial inspections, the provisions of the convention will be "fine-tuned"—that is, without changing the substance of provisions already agreed, we will add the details which will enable us to accomplish international verification more efficiently, quickly, and reliably in accordance with the convention.

Question: You have essentially related the results attained at the talks on banning chemical weapons. Can you point to any progress on other issues on the conference agenda?

Answer: At the session we have pressed for the start of multilateral talks on a nuclear test ban, on preventing the arms race from spilling over into space, and on some other issues. It has not proved possible, alas, to secure any real results in these areas.

The main obstructing force has been the United States. It is apparently unwilling to have its hands bound as regards SDI.

The 43d session of the UN General Assembly in New York will soon examine the state of affairs in the field of disarmament and make its recommendations. I think they will help the disarmament conference to intensify its activity next year.

Question: During the disarmament conference summer session, its delegates went to the Soviet Union to witness the destruction of Soviet RSD-10 (SS-20) missiles at the Kapustin Yar testing range not far from Volgograd. What do those who went there think of the trip? Has the event they witnessed had any impact on the work of the conference?

Answer: The trip made an indelible impression. The delegates saw with their own eyes a real destruction of nuclear weapons.

In essence we were present—and I was among those taking part in the trip—at the birth of a nuclear-free age, as it were.

Of course, the ambassador continued, the INF Treaty, in accordance with which the missiles are being destroyed, is a bilateral Soviet-U.S. treaty, and it does not have any direct relation to the conference. But I have the impression that the participants in the trip have started thinking seriously that specific results should be produced not only by Soviet-U.S. negotiations but also by the wide-ranging work pursued at the disarmament conference. This idea, by the way, has been expressed in the speeches of some representatives of delegations which returned from their trip to the USSR as well. I think that the stimulating effect of this trip ought to have some influence on the work of the conference.

Television Reports Comments

LD2009233588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 20 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The latest session of the conference on disarmament has ended in Geneva.

[Begin recording] [V. Dmitriyev] Its objective is to achieve universal and complete disarmament under strict international control, in keeping with the UN mandate. The treaty on banning nuclear tests in the three environments, the convention on banning bacteriological weapons, the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, all of which are now in force, were drawn up by the conference. However, much remains to be done to make mankind's dream of a weapon-free world a reality. What are the main results of the present session?

[Nazarkin] As with the preceding ones, this session paid most attention to the questions of drawing up a future convention on the banning and destruction of chemical weapons. We agreed, in principle, and drew up the details for conducting an experiment; in other words, experimental international inspections. The proposal on this was put forward by the Soviet Union; and now it has received broad support from participants in the talks. A large number of states have announced their intention to open their chemical industry enterprises for the conducting of such inspections.

[Dmitriyev] Also on the agenda of the conference are questions on which little headway has so far been made: the complete banning of nuclear tests, nuclear disarmament, the prevention of the militarization of space, and others. Not declarations, but practical efforts and political will on the part of all participating states are required for their speediest possible solution. [end recording]

U.S. To Destroy 41 Cruise Missiles

LD2109081788 Moscow TASS in English 0753 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Washington September 21 TASS—A total of 41 ground-based cruise missiles and seven launchers will be destroyed at the U.S. air base Davis Monthan, Arizona, October 18-19 in keeping with the Soviet-American INF Treaty, an official Pentagon spokesman told a briefing at the Defense Department Tuesday. These will be the first U.S. missiles of this class to be eliminated under the treaty. The Soviet Union had been notified of the upcoming elimination procedure, spokesman Dan Howard said.

New U.S. Penetrating Warheads Described

PM2109094588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Sep 88 First Edition p 4

[Colonel M. Irin reply to reader's letter under the rubric "We Answer Readers' Letters": "Penetrating Warheads"—first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] The mass media have reported that the Pentagon is embarking on the development of penetrating nuclear warheads. What are they? [Signed] D. Sherkovin

At the editorial bureau's request, this question was answered by Colonel M. Irin.

U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci has ordered the commencement of large-scale development of a new class of nuclear munitions. This is a strategic missile warhead capable of penetrating the ground before exploding at a depth of up to 20 meters. These warheads, the press reports, will be equipped with an autonomous guidance system providing maneuverability in the dense layers of the atmosphere in order to enhance accuracy and create the optimum conditions for ground entry. U.S. specialists consider that such optimum conditions would be an impact angle approaching 90 degrees and a speed of less than 900 meters per second in order to rule out the possibility of the warhead being destroyed before detonation. According to calculations by Pentagon experts, penetrating warheads will make it possible to hit hardened underground installations, including strategic command posts and missile silos.

The development of new nuclear warheads is being carried out by U.S. Department of Energy weapons laboratories. In recent years these laboratories have created new enhanced-yield impact-resistant weapons, and experiments have been held to study the penetration characteristics displayed by nuclear warhead mockups in various soils, concrete, granite, ice, and other materials.

The Pentagon intends to have penetrating warheads in its nuclear arsenal by the mid-nineties. It is planned to fit them to MX and Midgetman missiles, as well as to Trident-2 SLBM's.

Paper Outlines Strategic Stability Concept

PM2009153188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Sep 88 First Edition p 3

[Article by A. Kokoshin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, under the rubric "From the Standpoint of the New Thinking": "Three Major Elements in Stability"]

[Text] Strategic stability has become one of the central categories of military-political thinking, which has been rapidly evolving recently in our country and abroad. The question of strategic stability and ways of strengthening it has been posed in speeches by Soviet leaders and military leaders and in Warsaw Pact documents. The task of strengthening strategic stability also concerns a whole series of Soviet-U.S. documents relating to nuclear arms reduction.

The most important aspect of strategic stability is its relationship to the likelihood of the outbreak of a nuclear war. The importance of a stable balance of military-strategic power is seen in the extent to which specific features of this balance make an exchange of nuclear strikes more or, conversely, less likely in an acute conflict.

One of the main features of the present-day military-political situation in the world is the existence of military-strategic parity, the approximate equilibrium between the military might of the USSR and the United States and the Warsaw Pact and NATO expressed in the complex, multidimensional conjunction of qualitative and quantitative parameters. **However, parity is not synonymous with strategic stability.** Even if parity is maintained, strategic stability may diminish—**the equilibrium of military might becomes less and less stable as sides move to higher levels of confrontation.** This most important conclusion was enshrined in the CPSU Central Committee political report to our party's 27th congress. Correspondingly, the conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is an important contribution to the strengthening of strategic stability.

There is also a growing realization of the acuteness and depth of the problems of strategic stability in the West, where several serious works have appeared on this topic, often containing constructive ideas and concrete proposals.

The criteria for strategic stability and the specific parameters for ensuring it are being discussed more and more actively by specialists on both sides, and this includes discussion along unofficial or semi-official lines.

One of the fundamental differences in the assessment of the conditions and factors of strategic stability made by the Soviet side and representatives of the present U.S. Administration is the attitude toward ABM defense—the development and deployment of which is banned under the 1972 ABM Treaty—of the territories of the countries in question. At the same time, it should be borne in mind that the positions of opponents to developing an ABM system that would cover a country's territory and to the implementation of the SDI program—who justifiably consider it a means of undermining strategic stability and a threat to the interests of the national security of the United States itself and its allies—have considerably strengthened recently in the United States and other Western countries.

Among the important measures adopted by supporters of the strengthening of strategic stability in the United States recently is the decision by the U.S. Senate on the illegality of the administration's broad interpretation of the ABM Treaty, the congressional bans on the testing of an antisatellite system (testing of which has been virtually curtailed this year), and the congressional ban on tests of ballistic missiles in flat trajectories.

The main way to improve the stability of the equilibrium of strategic nuclear power from the political, psychological, and military standpoints is to limit and considerably reduce nuclear arms until they are completely eliminated, and to obstruct the arms race in other areas. The problem of preventing the spread of nuclear weapons and their acquisition either by certain states or by nongovernmental terrorist groups is exceptionally important. At the same time, the essence of strategic stability is such that a reduction in the stability of the equilibrium of military power is conceivable not only following a buildup of one side's forces and systems, but also following their considerable reduction—if, for instance, this makes a greater proportion of one or both sides' strategic forces and command, control, and communication centers more vulnerable. Calculations show that such a situation can arise even if overall quantitative equality is maintained in terms of warheads and launchers. This compels us to be exceptionally attentive to the potential structure of the sides' forces and systems—a structure which may take shape as a result of an accord being reached on nuclear arms limitation and reduction.

This kind of research has for many years been conducted, in particular, at the Committee of Soviet Scientists for the Defense of Peace and Against the Nuclear Threat with the participation and valuable assistance of professional military experts.

In very generalized terms one could propose the following conditions and criteria for strategic stability:

1. The political and military-strategic situation is such that both sides lack an incentive for first use of nuclear weapons. The retaliatory actions of the side subject to aggression rule out the possibility of the aggressor's making rational use of the results of a first (preemptive) strike.

2. Neither side has the ability to carry out a disabling preemptive (first) strike. In either case the side subject to aggression retains the potential to inflict unacceptable and commensurate damage on the aggressor.

3. The likelihood of unsanctioned or accidental use of nuclear weapons is minimized.

One of the factors which could be introduced into the equation of the stability of military-strategic equilibrium is the potential ability of a country whose strategic forces were attacked to restore the skewed equilibrium by means of a retaliatory strike against the corresponding forces of the aggressor. This becomes particularly obvious in light of the well-known illusory and very dangerous ideas of influential groups of the U.S. military-political leadership on the possibility of waging a limited nuclear war, not least using strategic systems, without it escalating into an uncontrollable exchange of nuclear strikes, which would lead to "mutual assured destruction." Soviet military theory rejects the idea of a limited nuclear war, but we have to take account of the existence of such views in the West.

The fulfillment of all the aforementioned conditions for strategic stability depends to a decisive extent on the presence on each side of reliable command, control, communications, and missile early-warning systems with a high level of redundancy. Yet not all questions of preventing an accidental outbreak of nuclear war or enhancing the reliability of early-warning, command, control, and communications systems can be resolved unilaterally. Joint efforts by the opposing sides are needed in a number of directions on the basis of the principle of mutual security and jointly elaborated criteria for strategic stability. It is possible that in the future these ends will require additional mutual notification and verification systems and means to be built into the sides' existing national command, control, and communications systems and means.

Assessing strategic stability in various options and at different hypothetical stages of nuclear arms reduction, we must also take account of the kind of weapons systems being developed and brought into service in the United States, the USSR, France, Great Britain, and the PRC. It is necessary to take future systems into account, both those based on known technologies and those using state-of-the-art technical solutions and new physical principles. Close attention should also be paid to the development of nonnuclear weapons with characteristics that make it possible to think that strategic nuclear forces, missile attack early-warning systems, and command, control, and communications systems may be vulnerable to these weapons.

Computer modeling of the balance of military power makes it possible to provide a basis for these kind of complex, multiple-possibility forecasts. Using the "AS" computer model developed by Soviet scientists in 1985-1987, the Committee of Soviet Scientists calculated and analyzed various options for cutting the sides' strategic offensive arms by 50, 75, and 95 percent. These calculations made it possible not only to determine whether the given balance of military power would be stable or not, but also, as it were, to sketch in the boundaries of the sphere of stability by examining many options for confrontation between the sides, given different strategic force structures and weapons system characteristics.

With radical cuts in strategic offensive arms, a hypothetical **ABM system for the country's territory** becomes an increasingly important factor of instability; and the "weight" of the factor of the **sides' strategic ASW** [antisubmarine warfare] forces and systems increases at the same time.

Calculations show that a situation in which both sides reduced their strategic offensive weapons while simultaneously deploying ABM systems relying on space-based elements would be highly unstable and would create "space-earth" and "space-earth-earth-space" strike systems. So it should be stressed yet again that the retention of the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972 and the prevention of an arms race in space—including a ban on antisatellite weapons—constitute one of the most important conditions for strengthening strategic stability and mutual security and for concluding agreements on radical strategic offensive arms cuts. We should also be aiming to reduce the sides' strategic ASW activity—targeted against nuclear ballistic missile submarines—which could be compared with an ABM system for a country's territory in terms of its negative impact on the stability of the equilibrium of military-strategic power.

Recently the concept of strategic stability has been justifiably extended to the sphere of **general-purpose forces and conventional arms.** A contribution of fundamental importance in this area was the provision put forward in the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee's 1986 Budapest appeal with regard to the fact that armed forces and arms reduction in central Europe must be accompanied by conditions that would ensure the prevention of a surprise attack and the staging of offensive operations. This interpretation of strategic stability has, on the whole, met with a positive response in the West, and it forms the basis of a mandate for the forthcoming talks on armed forces and conventional arms reduction from the Atlantic to the Urals.

At the same time, at a more concrete level, various groupings in the NATO countries are putting forward proposals for armed forces and conventional arms reduction in Europe that do not accord with the principles of reciprocal security and strategic stability. (One example of this approach is the widely disseminated research by J. Thompson of the U.S. "RAND Corporation.") The U.S. concept of "air-land operations (battle)" and current U.S. naval strategy run entirely counter to the task of enhancing the stability of the Warsaw Pact-NATO equilibrium.

In assessing the potential for a surprise attack in the European theater, one must not fail to take into account in one form or another the potential of NATO naval forces with reference to their tasks in various zones of the European theater, or the comparable potential of Warsaw Pact and NATO naval forces to carry out defensive and offensive actions.

The main equation for stability that exists at present could be upset by **long-range high-accuracy weapons or by electronic warfare (EW).** In our view EW is growing from a backup for military operations into a combat system and is becoming part and parcel of a battle or operation, turning into a relatively autonomous, specific form of armed warfare. It would be highly dangerous to overlook this fact—as shown, in particular, by the experience of a number of localized armed conflicts in the eighties.

The task of strengthening strategic stability and preventing a surprise attack or offensive operations calls for new approaches to the assessment of the correlation of the sides' forces and means. That is, under modern conditions it is necessary to compare Warsaw Pact and NATO armed forces not only in terms of numerical strength, quantities of comparable types of arms, and numbers of divisions, warships, and so forth, but also in terms of their combat potential. I think that the definition of the criteria and conditions for stability in this area is at no more than the active development stage.

To a considerable extent both the analytical and the negotiatory aspects of the problem of strengthening stability while reducing levels of confrontation between the Warsaw Pact and NATO constitute an even more complex task than reducing strategic offensive arms and observing the ABM Treaty. This, in particular, is shown by the simple fact that 23 states making up the opposing blocs will be taking part in the new talks on this problem.

On the whole, it should be stressed that the problems of strategic stability are wide-ranging and multifaceted. In this short article this writer has only been able to sketch the outlines of the problems. A serious and responsible elaboration of various aspects of strategic stability is necessary both to provide an analytical basis for talks on arms limitation and disarmament, and to select the optimum way to develop our armed forces and balance their structures and personnel numbers. Here, too, creative collaboration between military and civilian scientists and specialists is needed.

Perfilyev Holds Foreign Ministry Briefing 20 Sep

U.S. Reaction to Gorbachev Proposals

LD2009161388 Moscow TASS in English 1518 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—"The first reaction in the United States to the Soviet proposal for creating on the basis of the Krasnoyarsk radar station a center of international cooperation for the use of space for peaceful purposes shows that in the American Administration they actually have not given an attentive and comprehensive study to it as yet", Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said at a briefing today. "The Soviet Union expects the U.S. side to give a responsible consideration to this constructive proposal and give a reply to it".

Many news media, above all of the Asia-Pacific countries, notes that the proposals launched by Mikhail Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk demonstrate the consistency of the Soviet Union's course of military detente and scaling down tension not only in Europe but also in the Eastern hemisphere. Those countries' press also points out that these proposals show the Soviet Union's intention to speed up the substantive dialogue with the United States and other countries in the region," Perfilyev said. [quotation marks as received]

"At the same time", the Foreign Ministry spokesman noted, "someone started, as they say, without reading to the end talking about 'propaganda' and the USSR's attempts to drive a wedge between the United States and its allies, this time between the United States and Japan. Certainly, there is nothing in our proposals that could give a pretext for such suspicions".

Recalling the proposal on the possibility of the USSR giving up the material and technical supply station in Cam Ranh Bay in case the United States' bases in the Philippines are phased out Perfilyev stressed that it demonstrates the USSR's readiness to eliminate on the mutual basis military presence abroad and will have far-reaching regional consequences.

In the Soviet Union they also "drew attention, to put it mildly, to the brief reaction of the White House and the U.S. State Department of Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in Krasnoyarsk, which contains a host of specific proposals. We hope, however, that this is not the last say of Washington".

Shevardnadze to Denmark, U.S.

LD210[illegible] Moscow TASS in English 0003 GMT 21 Sep [illegible]

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—The principal objective of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's visit to Denmark on September 20 and 21 will be to carry on Soviet-Danish dialogue with its long-standing traditions of goodneighborliness and cooperation, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said today.

Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev, deputy chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, was speaking at a briefing here.

The program of Shevardnadze's stay in Denmark includes an audience with Queen Margrethe II, a meeting with Parliament President Svend Jakobsen and talks with Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen.

"The dialogue is aiming to make sure that world peace be even stronger and more reliable. Both our countries are equally interested in the success of the CSCE process, in resolving issues connected with cuts in armed forces and armaments in Europe and in reinforcing measures for building confidence and limiting military activity in the north, in the Arctic," the spokesman said.

Speaking of Shevardnadze's forthcoming visit to Washington on September 22-23, he said the Soviet foreign minister there will hold his 29th meeting with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

"The Soviet side sees the upcoming talks as a good opportunity for constructive dialogue between the USSR and the United States and for reaching practical accords in keeping with decisions made by the leaders of the two countries during the Moscow summit," Perfilyev said.

U.S.-Soviet Student Exchanges

LD2109023488 Moscow TASS in English 0103 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—A new programme for school exchanges between the Soviet Union and the United States was announced in this country, a Soviet Foreign Ministry official said at a briefing today.

Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the ministry's Information Directorate, said the programme was sponsored by the Soviet State Committee for Public Education, the American Council of Russian Language Teachers, the U.S. National Association of High School Directors, and the sister cities international.

"Twenty-five American and Soviet high schools will establish direct links between them in the current academic year," Perfilyev said.

"In the next two years, their number will grow to reach 100 on each side. Fifteen students of each of these schools will study at a partner school abroad for a period to be agreed on."

The spokesman said the two countries were considering exchanges of Russian- and English-language teachers.

Fifty-six Soviet students have gone to the U.S. this autumn to study at universities and colleges in north eastern states, while American students will study at several Soviet institutes starting from next autumn.

"The development of such contacts between the Soviet Union and the United States is a new trend in their broadening interaction in important spheres of social life," Perfilyev said.

Lebanese Presidential Elections

LD2109100188 Kuwait KUNA in English 0833 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, Sept 21 (KUNA)—The Soviet Union has said the troubled presidential elections in Lebanon were a purely internal Lebanese matter.

Official spokesman Vadim Perfilyev during a news briefing here last night said that his country supports Lebanon's unity, independence and sovereignty, adding that the Lebanese are responsible for solving their internal disputes to reach a national consensus.

Perfilyev who is deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Department asserted the importance of holding the presidential election on time in a peaceful and democratic atmosphere, urging the Lebanese people to give priority to national considerations.

'Deep Concern' About Burma

LD2009181688 Moscow TASS in English 1755 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—The tragic development of events in Burma is viewed with deep concern in the Soviet Union, said Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Commenting on reports by official Burmese radio about mass instances of the use of weapons in Rangoon and other cities of the country and about numerous casualties among the population, he said in an interview with a TASS diplomatic correspondent: "We hold that whatever the motives for the use of force, the sides should have shown restraint, seeking an end to the bloodshed as soon as possible, and beginning a search for ways to normalize the situation".

The conviction of the Soviet side is that matters concerning an internal political set-up and the attainment of country-wide concord should be tackled by the Burmese people themselves without interference from the outside, peacefully and with due regard for political realities taking shape in (?that) country, the spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry pointed out.

"The Soviet Union which maintains friendly relations with Burma would like to see that country as a traditionally independent, united peaceful state making its contribution to the cause of strengthening security in Asia and outside it."

Downed Afghan Plane, Israeli Satellite

LD2009165688 Moscow TASS in English 1617 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—The Pakistani authorities have instructed groups of intransigent opposition to collect the wreckage of aircraft of the Afghan Air Force on Afghan territory and to bring it to Pakistan to provide 'proofs' that Afghan military aircraft were ostensibly shot down over Pakistani territory, Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said at a briefing today. According to information reaching here, a big monetary reward has been promised for the accomplishment of the assignment.

Touching upon the U.N. General Assembly's 43rd session opening in New York today, Vadim Perfilyev emphasized that at the session the Soviet Union "intends through concrete deeds to promote further intensification of the processes of renewal of world politics, the establishment of a nuclear-free world, and in prospect a non-violent one, and a democratically organized international community."

"In its approach to concrete items on the agenda of the session," he said, "the USSR is guided by the new political thinking and by its striving to form a comprehensive system of peace and security".

Although it was officially stated in Tel Aviv that the newly-launched Israeli satellite would be used for purely "technical purposes", a spokesman for the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs emphasized that Arab countries show concern over this event. "One can apparently understand a majority of Arabs, considering the unsettled nature of the Middle East crisis and Israel's nuclear ambitions," said Vadim Perfilyev. "Availability of an Israeli missile capable of delivering any payload, including weapons, to considerable distances may give a new impetus to the arms race in the region, which will by no means meet the interests of resolving the crisis in the Middle East as soon as possible."

Vadim Perfilyev told journalists that the changes which have taken place in relations between the Soviet Union and the European Economic Community (EEC) were positively evaluated in the Soviet Union.

Commenting on the contents of the resolution on the report "on political relations between the European Economic Community and the Soviet Union", which was adopted by a majority of votes at the Europarliament session in Strasbourg, he pointed out that the development of contacts between the USSR and the EEC "is an important component in the all-European process."

Foreign Ministry's Batsanov on Chemical Warfare

LD2009163088 Moscow TASS in English 1540 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—The Soviet Union retains the hope for an early convention outlawing chemical weapons, according to a Soviet Foreign Ministry official.

Sergey Batsanov, deputy head of the ministry's department on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and outer space, made the statement at a briefing for Soviet and foreign correspondents here.

He said reports coming in from trouble spots about cases of chemical warfare agents being employed there "demand that an effective barrier to the chemical threat be erected without delay."

Batsanov noted that [words indistinct] everything else at a session of the Geneva conference on disarmament, which ended today. As a result, agreed provisions on chemical weapons [word indistinct] facilities and on their further [word indistinct] have been added to the draft text of the convention.

After it is signed, these facilities—equipment, buildings, underground structures and all—will have to be completely destroyed. But the issue of procedures for their destruction as well as for the elimination of chemical weapons stocks themselves has not yet been hammered out.

Batsanov said one major stumbling block has been the French position on a "security margin", which provides for every party to the convention to be entitled to produce chemical weapons even after the document's entry into force.

Progress has been made on procedures involved in challenge inspections but differences remain about the general mandatory nature of such checks, he added.

Speaking of the need to guarantee an end to the production and development of chemical weapons, Batsanov called attention to the indecision of a number of Western states about the necessity of strict control over industrial and laboratory activities connected with the production of chemicals.

"It is lab [as received] activities, however, that may pose the threat of secret work to develop chemical weapons. The convention should effectively plug such possibilities," the Soviet Foreign Ministry official said.

PRAVDA on Gerasimov 19 Sep Briefing

PM2009160188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "At the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center"]

[Text] All Pakistan's accusations against the Afghan side concerning the bombing of its territory by Afghan aircraft and artillery bombardment are pure invention designed to cover up its own flagrant violations of the Geneva agreements and its interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs. This was stated 19 September by G.I. Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists in connection with the continual Western articles quoting the Pakistani authorities on the alleged Afghan bombing of population centers on Pakistan's territory.

Commenting on the claims made by Pakistani Foreign Ministry spokesmen that the Pakistani side has a film at its disposal figuring that country's fighters destroying three Afghan aircraft that allegedly infiltrated Pakistan 7 and 10 September, G.I. Gerasimov said that the forging of this kind of film poses no particular difficulty with modern cine equipment. It is also quite simple to refute this falsehood: Specialists will always detect a fake. At the same time, he continued, the Pakistani side is avoiding creating an international joint commission to investigate these claims, as proposed by the Soviet Union and Afghanistan. It is easy to guess why.

Nor should one exclude the fact, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed, that this act is nothing but preparation for new and even more serious provocations regarding Afghanistan. In this connection it was stressed that both the USSR and Afghanistan, while strictly observing the Geneva agreements, will at the same time be ready to respond fittingly to any attacks and provocations, which will ultimately rebound on their instigators.

It was announced to journalists that the Afghan Foreign Ministry has published a White Paper—"Fulfilling the Geneva Agreements in the Interests of All Mankind." It talks about the progress of national reconciliation in Afghanistan, Afghan and Soviet fulfillment of their pledges under the Geneva accords, Pakistan's violations of these agreements, and U.S. actions that are helping prolong the undeclared war against Afghanistan. The book's appendix contains specific data on the damage incurred by the Afghan national economy as a result of the war, cites facts of the counterrevolution's crimes against the civilian population in 1987-1988, and gives the location of Pakistan-based training centers for armed units of the Afghan opposition and rebel staging posts and weapons dumps.

Japanese, Afghan Papers Hail Krasnoyarsk Speech

PM2109093788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Sep 88 Second Edition p 1

[PRAVDA-TASS 19 September roundup of foreign reaction to Gorbachev Krasnoyarsk speech: "Restructuring Is a Serious and Profound Matter"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Tokyo—"This speech by the Soviet leader, like his Vladivostok initiative, is very rich in substance," an editorial in the influential TOKYO SHIMBUN entitled "The CPSU Central Committee General Secretary's New Asian Strategy" proclaims. The newspaper particularly stresses that the USSR advocates the expansion of mutually beneficial and equal relations with all states in this part of the globe irrespective of their size and social system. It describes as "gratifying" the fact that the "Soviet leader has shown an active desire to move Japanese-Soviet relations into the mainstream of normal development."

With reference to the hope expressed in Krasnoyarsk that the positive tone will be furthered in the course of the upcoming contacts between Moscow and Tokyo, YOMIURI writes: "People at the Foreign Ministry have stated that they willingly welcome what was said in this respect." The same newspaper points out: "You can detect a vigorous desire for peace in the Soviet leader's speech." [passage omitted]

Kabul—Afghanistan's mass media view the proposals put forward by M.S. Gorbachev in his Krasnoyarsk speech as an important new step on the path of progress toward general Asian security.

Kabul newspapers are commenting animatedly on the speech. The PDPA Central Committee organ HAQIQAT-E ENQELAB-E SAWR has devoted its editorial to the new Soviet peace initaitives. It stresses that the USSR's decision not to increase its nuclear weapons stocks in the region and its appeal to the United States and other nuclear powers not to deploy these weapons there will in addition help establish an atmosphere of trust here. The transformation of the Indian Ocean into a peace zone would be of great significance for improving the situation in Asia. [passage omitted]

Ambassador Kashlev Assesses Vienna CSCE Forum

PM2009105088 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Dialogue between Vitaliy Kobysh, IZVESTIYA political observer, and Yuriy Kashlev, head of the USSR delegation at the Vienna meeting of representatives of the CSCE states, under the rubric "Topical Dialogues": "Europe: Building Our Home"; date and place of dialogue not given—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] As has already been reported, the meeting of representatives of the 35 states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), which has been going on for nearly 2 years now, has resumed work.

What questions are being discussed at the Vienna meeting and what is at the center of the participants' attention—that is the subject of the dialogue between IZVESTIYA political observer Vitaliy Kobysh and Yuriy Kashlev, head of the USSR delegation at the Vienna meeting.

[Kobysh] Before beginning our discussion, I would like to introduce my interlocutor to our readers. Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Yuriy Borisovich Kashlev is 54; he is a member of the USSR Foreign Ministry Collegium and chief of the Administration for Humanitarian and Cultural Relations. He is a doctor of historical sciences and professor. He is the author of several dozen books and pamphlets, among them "After 14,000 Wars," "Mass Information and International Relations," and "Ideological Struggle or Psychological Warfare." There is every reason to describe him as a representative of the new generation in Soviet diplomacy. In 1986 he was leader of the USSR delegation at the all-European conference on contacts between people that was held in Bern. It was in Bern that a bold document on human rights was drawn up, which only one country could not bring itself to sign—the United States.

There are now new, far more large-scale talks in Vienna, and they are so varied that it is not easy to grasp: What specifically is being discussed here?

[Kashlev] Let me try to clarify things a little. The long-drawn-out talks on reducing armed forces and armaments in Central Europe have been in progress here since 1973. But they have no direct relationship to our talks. The Vienna meeting which is a development of the CSCE process began work on 4 November 1986 at the level of foreign ministers. It is to conclude its work at that level too. We hope this will be soon, no later than October-November this year.

At the same time, within the framework of the Vienna meeting consultations are taking place between the countries of the Warsaw Pact and NATO on drawing up a mandate for new talks on reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe. The consultations started last year on the initiative of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee and form part of the Vienna CSCE meeting. So it is true that it is quite easy to get confused.

Now for the substance of the matter. CSCE meetings are distinguished by at least three peculiarities.

First, their composition. There are 33 European states, plus the United States and Canada.

Second, the agenda. Unlike all other talks, which are usually devoted to a particular topic, at ours a whole range of problems connected with relations between these 35 countries are discussed. The founding fathers of the CSCE process envisaged these talks precisely thus, as comprehensive, and this chimes with the approach of the 27th CPSU Congress to these matters: the unity and interrelated nature of military, political, economic, scientific, economic, and humanitarian issues.

As early as the preparations for the all-European conference held in Helsinki in 1975 (it all began with a meeting of envoys from the 35 countries in Dipoli [as published], near the Finnish capital, in 1972), the concept of the famous three "baskets" emerged. Each delegation put forward at that time such a quantity of the most diverse proposals that the necessity arose to classify them in some way. Everyone now knows that military-political matters went into the first "basket." Trade, the economy, and ecology went into the second. Humanitarian cooperation went into the third: culture, information, education, contacts between people.

The agenda for every CSCE meeting is extremely complex. Six bodies have been set up, where talks take place in parallel on all the issues (in a week there are usually up to 24 sessions). In accordance with the Helsinki Final Act, absolutely everything is discussed, no subject is excluded. For our meeting, for instance, delegations and groups of delegations submitted about 150 official proposals for the agenda, touching on every issue: from military to humanitarian and ecological matters.

[Kobysh] But does that mean that each delegation includes not only diplomats, but also military men, lawyers, and scientists of various specialities? How do you manage, with this conglomeration of people and topics?

[Kashlev] I can say one thing with certainty: Every avenue is pursued by experts of the highest grade. The same is true of the other delegations, in particular the U.S. delegation: It has three people of ambassadorial rank.

But let us come back to another specific aspect, the third aspect, of the talks. I mean our consensus rule—in other words, any decision can be adopted only by common consent.

[Kobysh] As I understand it, both the unanimity rule and the possibility of submitting any problem for discussion make this meeting a unique political forum first and foremost for the neutral and nonaligned states, or N plus N, as they call them. Incidentally, it would probably do no harm to remind readers what countries these are. Yugoslavia and Cyprus are among the nonaligned countries, while Sweden, Switzerland, Austria, Finland, Malta, Liechtenstein, and San Marino are neutral states. Ireland, Monaco, and the Vatican do not belong to any international political organization, even the Nonaligned Movement, which does not prevent them from playing a very active role in the CSCE process. All these states usually speak as a group and play the part of conciliator. In any event, it is usually through them that the quest for compromise between the Warsaw Pact states and the NATO countries takes place.

[Kashlev] In Helsinki it was agreed to renounce the bloc approach to the problems discussed. In other words, the 16 NATO countries and 7 Warsaw Pact countries speak for themselves, as entirely sovereign states.

[Kobysh] The nonbloc approach in discussing military, political, and other very serious problems—does that represent pluralism of opinions within the framework of each bloc?

[Kashlev] Yes, of course. If, for instance, you look at the positions of the Warsaw Pact states on military issues, usually they are very similar. But that does not preclude differences of nuance and emphasis. Bulgaria and Romania, say, place the emphasis on the proposal to create a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans, the GDR and the CSSR on a nuclear-weapon-free corridor in Central Europe, Poland on matters from the Rapacki plan to the Jaruzelski plan.

[Kobysh] That is natural, but I meant differences in positions, or even disagreements. Does that sometimes happen? Reports are now coming in from Vienna that virtually all the participants in the CSCE agree that everything is ready for the adoption of a politically meaningful, mutually acceptable concluding document. In an interview just published in IZVESTIYA, Alois Mock, [Austrian] vice chancellor and foreign minister, emphasizing that no item in this document even remotely flouts or restricts the sovereignty of the countries participating in the Vienna meeting, notes, however, that Romania is refusing to sign this document that suits everyone. For what reason? It has become known that the Romanian comrades do not like the formula "the common European home"; in their view, the emphasis should be on strengthening each country's "individual home." One can hardly agree with this approach, as the Austrian vice chancellor says in his interview. We expect the Romanian Government, he notes, to show "more understanding in its approach to the draft concluding document."

On the other hand, it is no secret that the main obstacles to successful progress at the Vienna meeting are created by the NATO countries, first and foremost the United States, which has difficulty in accepting the nonbloc philosophy. How do things stand here?

[Kashlev] A rather contradictory situation has arisen. On the one hand, the restructuring that is taking place in the Soviet Union, with its dynamic process of democratization and glasnost, has had a most favorable effect on international relations and helped to humanize them and establish the new thinking. On the other hand, the negative legacy of the past has its effect, the most vivid example of which, in terms of the CSCE process, was the Americans' wrecking of the Bern conference.

To be truthful, all this smacks rather of the theater of the absurd. In Bern the U.S. delegation opposed the adoption of a document that paved the way for the development of contacts between people; that is to say, they struck a blow against human rights. In Vienna, as at the previous meetings, the Americans opposed the military dimension of the CSCE and sought to reduce everything to the third "basket." In Madrid, if you remember, the Europeans (both West and East) made Washington agree to the holding of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe.

The success of that conference was largely associated with new approaches and a constructive position on the part of the Soviet Union, which is ready to make concessions and compromises and seek mutually acceptable solutions. This also made it possible for the first time to make real disarmament an avenue and an object in the CSCE process. In accordance with the Budapest Appeal of the Political Consultative Committee (June 1986), the Warsaw Pact proposed to NATO that talks be held on reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. In Vienna we succeeded in convincing all 35 countries that these talks should take palce within the framework of the CSCE process. In Vienna, in addition to what I have already mentioned, we are also drawing up a mandate on confidence-building measures in Europe. So for the first time two forms of talks on military issues will be conducted in parallel at the all-European level.

[Kobysh] That is an undoubted success, but let us tell the whole truth. Formerly we scarcely concealed the fact that military-political problems are the most important for us. We regarded humanitarian issues and human rights as a kind of payment for the resolution of the fundamental problems that were most important to us. Is that not true?

[Kashlev] Yes, probably. And that continued until we realized that human rights and humanitarian issues are just as significant as military-political problems, and rather belatedly we began to pay as much attention to them as the other side.

[Kobysh] I imagine that this came as a total surprise to the Americans in Bern, and they were rather thrown by it. One wonders why we were formerly so reluctant to discuss these matters, and why they caused in us a kind of "withdrawal syndrome."

But I find myself thinking that it is easy to talk about this subject now, when we are going through a period of cleansing, eradication of lawlessness, and strengthening of the rights of Soviet citizens. I do not imagine that at a time when the legacy of Stalinism lived on, in the time of stagnation, there was any great desire to discuss this subject. And indeed, even now not everything is as it should be here. Instances of mass corruption, various kinds of abuses, and the suppression of the individual are being uncovered. Explosive ethnic contradictions have surfaced, apparently suddenly and unexpectedly. What echoes does all this have in Vienna, Yuriy Borisovich, how is it reflected in the work of your delegation?

[Kashlev] The very fact that we talk openly about all this, and not merely talk, but act energetically to uncover the sores that persist from the past and eradicate bureaucracy and lawlessness, is making a great impression and arousing trust and sympathy toward us.

[Kobysh] Only the first steps have been taken thus far. Much work still lies ahead in the sphere of glasnost, too. For instance, the publication of our military budget would deprive Western propaganda of the opportunity to pluck figures out of the air and exaggerate them monstrously.

[Kashlev] Yes, if we have any shortcomings in democratization and glasnost at home in our own country, this meets with a speedy reaction abroad, and this can be sensed in the course of our talks. Of course, it cannot be denied that in the humanitarian sphere, in human rights, we have made a real breakthrough in comparison with the past. All the same, there has yet to be the same kind of dramatic change as in the military sphere, where we have embarked on tremendous, historic deeds. I refer first and foremost to the start of the destruction of Soviet and American intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and the talks on reducing strategic weapons. So much, very much, still remains to be done.

[Kobysh] What comes first?

[Kashlev] There is no immediate answer to that. First, not all that much was said about humanitarian questions in the Helsinki Final Act. As a result of many years of discussions, the following group of questions has been defined.

Religious. Considerable attention is devoted to these issues in the document we have drawn up.

Rules and time scales are set for the resolution of humanitarian issues: from 3 days (death or illness of relatives) to 3 months (reuniting families, marriages, and so forth).

[Kobysh] No doubt a time will come—and it is not so very far away—when people will travel when and where they like. Like many other people, no doubt, I often wonder what would happen if we "opened the doors." After all, countries like Poland and Hungary have basically done so, and nothing terrible has happened: People go away, and for the most part come back. This example is also interesting because of the financial lever for regulating trips. People have the right to exchange a small sum of money for convertible currency. When your quota is spent, you have to wait till next year, but if you accumulate enough money, you can go not only to a nearby country, but to the most distant country.

[Kashlev] Let me add that in Vienna now, for the first time, a mechanism is being set up for cooperation and consultations in the sphere of the human dimension (the human factor) of the Helsinki process. The mechanism will consist of two elements. First. Each state, when there is an appeal to it on humanitarian issues, pledges to hold a bilateral meeting. Second. To hold bilateral and multilateral meetings, with the exchange of information and the adoption of the necessary commitments on any humanitarian issues that are of concern to anyone.

It has also been decided to hold a conference on the human dimension of the CSCE process for the first time. It will consist of three meetings: in Paris in 1989, in Copenhagen in 1990, and in Moscow or Geneva—it has not yet been decided—in 1991. Our proposal to hold a Moscow humanitarian conference made a tremendous impression on the participants in the Vienna meeting, as well as elsewhere.

[Kobysh] But apparently not everyone liked the idea, for which they obviously have their reasons?

[Kashlev] Yes, the United States, Britain, Canada, and some other NATO countries object to the holding of such a conference in Moscow.

[Kobysh] Be that as it may, we have evidently seized the initiative on the question of human rights, which was regarded as our Achilles heel for a long time, for some reason. And in general we have managed to put this problem, which was always prone to a sensational and confrontational approach, onto a footing of cooperation. Which, of course, has become possible only now, in the period of democratization in the Soviet Union.

[Kashlev] Much work still lies ahead and difficulties remain to be overcome, but an unprecedented program of concrete action covering all three "baskets" is already emerging in Vienna. If I may, I will give a brief "inventory" of them.

In the first "basket." In the military-political sphere it is planned to hold two large-scale meetings: of the 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO countries, and of all 35 CSCE countries. An all-European seminar is to be held on the peaceful settlement of disputes, and also on cooperation in the Mediterranean region.

The second "basket." An economic forum in Czechoslovakia (Prague). An economic conference on trade and cooperation in the FRG. A scientific forum in Italy. An ecological forum (Bulgaria and Switzerland are claiming the right to host it).

The third "basket." The conference on the human dimension, with the three annual meetings mentioned above. An information forum in London. A symposium on the European heritage in Krakow.

Thus in all there are more than 10 all-European meetings, sessions, and conferences. That is unprecedented. The "baskets" are equally filled with real content (let us observe that 6-7 years ago there was nothing at all in the second "basket").

[Kobysh] Apparently the walls of our all-European home are already taking shape.

Korionov Reviews Past Week's Events

PM2009105188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[Vitaliy Korionov "International Review": "The World This Week"]

[Text] Ensuring states' firm security is one of the most pressing questions which concerns billions of people on earth today. Governments, political parties, and public movements are persistently seeking an answer to this question. Mankind has already amassed considerable experience in resolving it. Europe has not known the horrors of war for more than 4 decades. Nonetheless, huge nuclear arsenals remain intact and so-called conventional weapons are approaching nuclear weapons in terms of their destructive potential. How should this problem be tackled in the future?

This is why M.S. Gorbachev's speech in Krasnoyarsk, in which problems of strengthening security in Asia and the whole world occupy considerable space, has attracted such lively interest everywhere. Peoples have received yet another convincing proof: The road advocated by Moscow is not the pursuit of the "position-of-strength" policy, nor of the beaten track of the arms race. States' genuine security can only be achieved by political and economic means, by the creation of a climate which eliminates hostility, suspicion, and distrust. This is our creed.

The new Soviet initiatives are an extensive realistic program for building a reliable peace both in Asia and the Pacific region and throughout the planet.

A Refreshing Wind [subhead]

Following the course of international events, ever new millions of people are able to convince themselves that it is the socialist peace policy which offers the best path toward the solution of the burning problems of our time. The process of restructuring, glasnost, and democratization in the USSR is inspiring special hope in peoples. "I am profoundly aware that the restructuring in the Soviet Union, if it develops, has the potential to become one of the three or four most important events of the 20th century and its importance may also extend to the 21st century," Seweryn Bialer, director of the Columbia University Research Institute on International Change (United States), has said recently.

However, the improvement in the political climate clearly does not suit those who stubbornly refuse to recognize the realities of the present-day world, who do not want to give up their former ambitious notions that the United States is still capable of acting out the role of either a "universal sheriff" or a "world executor [dusheprikazchik]." In this context, I believe, it is fitting to cite the opinion expressed recently in THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR by D. Newsom, director of the Georgetown University Institute of Diplomacy. The U.S. scholar does not share the claims of Reagan administration staffers who ascribe the main credit for the changes taking place in the world arena to the United States. "Substantial progress could hardly have been achieved without Moscow's new thinking," Newsom acknowledges.

Indeed, our new thinking and the Soviet policy of restructuring are actively contributing to the relaxation of international tension. The Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has laid the foundations for a world without nuclear weapons. Both in the USSR and the United States, new intermediate- and shorter-range missiles are being destroyed. And each of these actions is ridding the world political climate of the germs of suspicion.

The past week, too, has been marked by yet another event which testifies to growing trust resulting in exchanges of information. On 14 September an underground nuclear explosion was carried out in the vicinity of Semipalatinsk. Leaders of the U.S. and USSR delegations at the Geneva talks on the limitation and ending of nuclear tests and journalists from the United States, France, the PRC, and other countries were present at the site of the experiment. It is possible to agree with the White House spokesman who said: The present joint experiment in verification carried out in Semipalatinsk brings us another step closer to reaching an agreement on effective methods of verification.

However, this is no longer enough today. Peoples expect that we should not rest content with what has been achieved but ceaselessly move forward toward the final aim—a total ban on all nuclear tests.

The firm establishment of the shoots of the new political thinking is visible not only in the development of the Soviet-American dialogue. This process is assuming a global character. The signs of a change for the better in the situation prevailing on that continent on which the flame of a war which went on to encircle the whole planet has flared up on two occasions—Europe that is—should be noted with special satisfaction.

The meeting in Vienna of representatives of 33 states of Europe, the United States, and Canada has reached the finishing straight. Conditions are being created to ensure a fruitful conclusion of the meeting in all the spheres of the Helsinki process and primarily in agreeing a mandate for the talks on the reduction of forces and conventional arms in Europe. The constructive stance of the Warsaw Pact countries is facilitating the talks of the 23 states—members of NATO and the Warsaw Pact—on a specially topical question—the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms from the Atlantic to the Urals. The establishment of official relations between the CEMA and the EEC, and simultaneously between the USSR and other socialist countries and the European communities (EC), will serve the vital interests of the European countries and the development of their economies.

A favorable atmosphere is also being created for a sensible solution of such an acute question as the elimination of regional armed conflicts. The experience in the application of the policy of national reconciliation in Afghanistan is attracting growing interest in the world, all the more so since D. Cordovez, personal representative of the UN Secretary General, speaking at a press conference in New York a few days ago, especially noted the "honest and scrupulous implementation of the agreements on the part of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan." The guns of death have fallen silent on the Iran-Iraq front. The conflict situation in the south of Africa is being disentangled. A qualitatively new situation is gradually emerging in the Cambodian settlement process. There are signs of progress in the solution of the Cyprus problem.

Avoid Losing Momentum [subhead]

The demand of the moment is not to miss the chance which has emerged for the whole world. The Number One item on the agenda is the conclusion of a Soviet-American agreement on 50-percent cuts in Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive arms. As is known, agreement in principle on such a reduction has already been reached between the Soviet and American leadership. However, the talks in Geneva are advancing slowly. Why? A statement a few days ago by Edward Rowny, special adviser to the President and U.S. secretary of state on arms control matters, could be quoted in reply to this question: "We see no possibility of reaching a full agreement on strategic arms before 21 January 1989" (the date when the new U.S. President takes up his post).

Now let us take a look at the attitude toward the ABM Treaty whose key importance for further progress in disarmament is generally known. Of late certain people in Washington have stepped up their efforts in order to find a pretext for exacerbating the situation around this agreement. This is the only explanation for the ballyhoo raised around the Krasnoyarsk radar station. Allow me to recall that last year a U.S. Congress delegation visiting the construction site left with incontrovertible evidence confirming that the radar station does not present a threat to U.S. security. However, certain people in Washington continue to stubbornly claim that this project is a violation of the 1972 treaty and even that it represents "a threat to U.S. national security." Behind the screen of this ballyhoo, they themselves meanwhile continue to build radar stations in Greenland and Great Britain.

The good will of the Soviet Union and the flexibility of its foreign policy have now removed "the problem of the Krasnoyarsk radar station" and given a new impetus to the talks in Geneva. Speaking in Krasnoyarsk, M.S. Gorbachev has proposed to set up an international cooperation center for the peaceful use of outer space on the basis of the Krasnoyarsk radar station and to incorporate it in the system of the world space organization. This innovative constructive proposal not only knocks the ground from under the feet of those who would like to exacerbate relations, but if it is implemented will do much to serve the cause of the expansion of international cooperation.

Here are a number of examples of a different kind. Certain circles in the West are making new efforts to revive the myth of the "Soviet military threat" which has begun to fade away. To cite but one example.

As is known, at the beginning of last month U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci visited the Soviet Union and was given every opportunity to acquaint himself with the Soviet military potential, to gain a "hands-on" experience, so to speak. As he was leaving the USSR, Carlucci said: "During an amazingly short period of time we have reached an accord on the elaboration of a procedure to prevent dangerous incidents. A decision has been adopted on setting up a working group which will attend to these questions." After his arrival in the United States Carlucci said in an interview to the military observer of THE WASHINGTON TIMES speaking about us: "Within the framework of their new policy they have unquestionably decided to be more open in dialogue with us."

However, now, returning from a visit to China, F. Carlucci has declared: The Soviet threat has not subsided despite the new Soviet policy of glasnost. The question arises: Which one of the two Carluccis is one to believe? In Moscow he said: "We still have many differences, but we can now calmly discuss our viewpoints and seek mutual understanding." With his permission, we would like to ask the Pentagon chief: "Does he think that the claims about the 'Soviet threat' which are again coming from his lips are conducive to mutual understanding between the USSR and the United States?"

Incidentally, the passion for bandying about the specter of the "Soviet danger" leads certain U.S. representatives to utter incredible stupidities. For instance, D. Mroz [name as published], president of the Institute for the Study of Security Problems in East-West relations, has come up with the following curious bit of information: It appears that a U.S. firm was prevented from building a factory for the production of... sanitary napkins! in the USSR.

However, the main point is that the atmosphere of distrust toward the Soviet Union is being exploited in the United States to fan military hysteria. A few days ago F. Carlucci issued instructions to begin development work on [razrabotka] a new type of nuclear missiles with penetrating warheads. According to the U.S. press, this type of weapon is intended for destroying underground command centers and bomb shelters in the USSR. The aim is obvious—a buildup of the potential for delivering a first strike. At the same time U.S. Air Force has adopted a decision to create a special radio communications system for the event of a nuclear war. The legitimate question arises: Have the plans for unleashing a nuclear war been consigned to the archives in Washington, or are they still in circulation?

Self-Assertion [subhead]

Characteristic reports are coming in from Latin America. Mass antifascist, antidictatorship demonstrations are continuing in Chile; the peoples of Central America have marked Independence Day; the armed liberation struggle of the patriots in El Salvador is gathering momentum; a new meeting of Central American countries' presidents to discuss the problems of a peaceful settlement is in preparation...

These events and processes are taking place at various levels. Nonetheless, a characteristic trend of the development of the current sociopolitical situation in the Latin American continent can be clearly discerned in them. Namely, the determination of the Latin American peoples to be masters in their own house, to be masters of their destiny, is manifesting itself ever more insistently.

A few days ago the Latin American Economic System permanent secretariat published a report entitled: "The Social and Political Consequences of the Foreign Debt of Latin American and Caribbean Countries" which cites the following figures: The debt of these countries now exceeds $410 billion. Alone between 1982 and 1987 the states of the region transferred around $150 billion to the banks of their Western creditors in payment of their debt. However, the debt has not only not decreased, it has increased. Currently, 40.7 percent of the gross national product of the countries of the region goes to pay back principal and interest on debts.

What question of genuine independence can there be in such a situation? It is natural that the struggle for freedom and honor of nations is assuming ever wider scope.

The beacon of socialist Cuba burns like a fire of freedom that cannot be extinguished. The Nicaraguan revolution is staunchly holding its ground. In a number of countries, including such major countries as Brazil and Argentina, the peoples have toppled the military dictatorships that had been imposed on them. Governments which show willingness to defend the national interests of their peoples more actively are coming to power more and more frequently.

When the Salvadoran patriots took up their arms, skeptics were asking dejectedly: Who is to believe that it is possible to successfully wage guerrilla warfare in a country with a population of approximately 5 million people, a territory of only 21,400 square kilometers, and no mountains? But the patriots said: "The masses are our mountains." The suppressors of freedom, relying on all-around assistance from the United States, have now been trying for 8 years to suppress the popular insurgent movement without achieving anything. And what has the Reagan administration not done to topple the government of minuscule Panama which it finds unacceptable? Yet here too, it has failed.

The movement of solidarity with courageous Nicaragua had led to the birth of a new type of relations between the countries of the continent. The Contadora Group and the Support Group were set up. The groups' participants have declared their determination to take the solution of Latin American problems into their own hands. And this collective diplomacy is producing positive results.

Latin America is asserting itself. This is yet another sign of our times of crucial change.

PRAVDA on Warsaw News Agency Forum

PM2009095188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Conference of Agency Leaders"]

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Sep—A routine conference of leaders of news agencies and press agencies of the socialist countries and a number of developing countries of socialist orientation was held in Warsaw 14-16 September. Representatives of 27 agencies from 17 countries took part in its work.

Today M. Rakowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR, received the leaders of news agencies and press agencies of the socialist countries and a number of developing countries of socialist orientation who had taken part in the work of the conference.

The conference participants examined questions of the fuller and more effective provision of information for the population of the socialist countries and the world public on constructive activity to accelerate the socioeconomic development of the socialist countries and their efforts to strengthen peace and prevent a nuclear catastrophe. The need was stressed to enhance the effectiveness of the agencies' collaboration in the propaganda of the profound socialist transformations and far-sighted peace-loving initiatives of the USSR and the other fraternal countries.

IPU Conference Opens in Sofia 19 Sep

LD1909095788 Moscow TASS in English 0911 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] Sofia September 19 TASS - The 80th conference of the Interparliamentary Union has opened in the Bulgarian capital today in a ceremonious atmosphere.

The authoritative international forum is being attended by representatives of about 100 countries. The Soviet delegation is led by Avgust Voss, chairman of the Soviet of nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The opening ceremony was attended by Todor Zhivkov, president of Bulgaria's Council of State.

The participants in the conference will consider topical political, economic and social problems facing mankind, and will also discuss prospects for the development of international cooperation in the humanitarian field and the parliaments' contribution to the implementation of U.N. resolutions concerning the granting of independence to colonial countries and the elimination of colonialism, racism and apartheid.

'Church and Society' Forum To Open in Tambov

LD1809145488 Moscow TASS in English 1419 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Text] Tambov, Center of the European Part of the USSR, September 18 TASS—TASS correspondent Aleksandr Russkiy reports:

The church and society should unite in the efforts to remove the nuclear and ecological menace, combat AIDS and moral degradation. This idea will run through a meeting in Tambov sponsored by the World Church Council to discuss the question "Church and Society".

Theologians from 12 countries arrived in Tambov today to attend the forum. Among the 50 guests are churchmen from the United States, Britain, India, Australia, the Philippines, Italy, Finland, Burma, Zaire, Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, and Switzerland. Soviet scientists, specialists in ecology, nuclear physics and bioengineering were also invited to the meeting.

Delegations Stop in Moscow After DPRK Fete

PM2009124188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Stopping Over in Moscow"]

[Text] The following foreign delegations stopped over in Moscow 11 through 16 September en route from the DPRK after taking part in celebrations to mark the 40th anniversary of the DPRK's formation: a party and government delegation from Hungary headed by I. Katona, secretary of the State Council; a Guinea-Bissau party and government delegation headed by C. Pereira, member of the African Independence Party of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Central Committee Politburo and president of the National People's Assembly; a party and government delegation from Afghanistan headed by A.H. Muhtat, the country's vice president; a party and government delegation from Poland headed by K. Barcikowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the State Council; a party and government delegation from Nicaragua headed by C. Nunez Tellez, president of the National Assembly; and a party and state delegation from the Lao People's Democratic Republic headed by Phoumi Vongvichit, member of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee Politburo and acting president of Laos.

B. Compaore, head of state of Burkina-Faso, and A.B. Kamara, first vice president of Sierra Leone, stopped over in the Soviet capital en route from Pyongyang.

United States & Canada

Paper on Lack of Response to Gorbachev Speech

PM2009145188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
20 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Shalnev dispatch under the general heading "How Will the West Respond to the Soviet Initiatives?": "United States: As Silent as the Grave"]

[Text] New York—It was done as though to order. A brief, single-paragraph White House statement, a roughly similar State Department comment, and a couple of sentences from two presidential advisers, and the subject was essentially closed. Both for official departments and for press organs. Even by Sunday the country's most authoritative newspapers—THE NEW YORK TIMES and THE WASHINGTON POST—had said virtually not a word about the programmatic speech, full of concrete proposals, which the CPSU Central Committee general secretary had made in Krasnoyarsk 2 days previously. One might get the impression that there was nothing concerning the United States in that speech.

Television, too, fell silent. Sunday is a day filled with so-called talk shows, that is, programs whose participants—prominent public and political figures and major, authoritative commentators—discuss the most burning and acute problems and events of the past 7 days. The very time, you might think, to talk about the proposals advanced by the Soviet leader, which will inevitably affect the next administration, which assumes power 20 January next year.

You might think... But it turned out differently. Only Democratic Senator Bradley from New Jersey mentioned the fact that the Soviet Union's leader had made a major speech.

Then I turned to the Bush and Dukakis election campaign headquarters and tried to ascertain there the reaction to the Soviet initiatives and, in particular, to the proposal to organize near Krasnoyarsk an international cooperation center for the peaceful use of space, thus putting an end to the doubts being experienced in the United States with regard to the radar station.

"We have nothing to say about this," I was told at Republican headquarters.

"You are talking about a Krasnoyarsk radar?" I was asked at the Democrat candidate's headquarters. "What is that?"

I explained, and they promised to call me back. They did so several hours later and read out a line from a statement which Michael Dukakis had made even before the Soviet leader had spoken in Krasnoyarsk. The line sounded like this: "I will try to get the radar dismantled."

"Tell me, do you have any comment on the proposal itself?"

"No."

Several more calls. To the White House. I inquired whether there was any further amplification: For in their first reaction to M.S. Gorbachev's speech, after saying that the USSR must dismantle the radar, the President's advisers added: "The proposals are being studied." Thus, it was possible to expect some development of the initial position.

"We can say nothing new," I was told.

Now to the Pentagon. The people there simply amazed me by saying that "when it comes to foreign countries you must address not us but the White House or the State Department."

"But we are talking about a radar installation, about a proposal in the arms control sphere. That is your sphere, the Pentagon's sphere," I insisted.

"Try the White House or the State Department."

The circle closed, you might say.

Of course, it must not be ruled out that a detailed, thorough reply will still be made—either publicly, at a briefing or in a speech, or through diplomatic channels, perhaps, let us assume, during the meetings scheduled in Washington in a few days time between the Soviet foreign minister and top administration officials. It is understandable that such an important proposal as that advanced by the USSR leader demands careful study. But there are still no visible signs that a serious study is being made.

U.S.-Soviet Public Forum Continues in Tbilisi

Adamishin, U.S. Official Speak

PM2009154188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[Report by special correspondent A. Lyutyy: "Exchange of Opinions Is Important: First Plenary Session Held at Conference of Soviet and U.S. Public"]

[Text] Tbilisi—A.L. Adamishin, USSR deputy foreign minister, noted in his speech that there have been considerable improvements in Soviet-U.S. relations in recent years. The number of contacts at the most varied levels—from meetings between top leaders, ministers, and legislators to contacts between ordinary people—is increasing. And the quantity, the speaker said, is beginning to turn into quality. The main thing is that the USSR and the United States have managed to push back the threat of nuclear war. The deputy minister expressed the opinion that major objective preconditions now exist for our two states to establish long and stable cooperation which will be beneficial to themselves and to the rest of the world. Why? To a considerable extent because the movement toward the improvement of USSR-U.S. relations enjoys growing support among the most diverse strata of the population. The public's influence is a powerful motivating factor toward the development of ties.

The growing awareness of the need to safeguard mankind's survival in the nuclear age is, in the speaker's opinion, yet another important element of the basis for improving Soviet-U.S. relations. We, he said, have to destroy the dangerous stereotype which holds that the differences between our countries are an insurmountable obstacle.

T. Simons, U.S. assistant secretary of state and the U.S. keynote speaker, highlighted three main factors which determine the administration's approach to relations with the USSR. Two of them—dialogue and realism—coincided, incidentally, with the Soviet view expressed earlier. But the third—strength— showed that Washington is far from ready to abandon all political stereotypes and delusions.

"Perhaps to Soviet people the term 'conducting talks from a position of strength' sometimes sounds like diktat," the State Department spokesman tried to convince the audience. "But that is wrong. In fact, strength in this context means protecting our interests and values."

Is that so? An example of the dubiousness of this explanation, to put it mildly, was provided by the conference itself. A member of the audience asked the U.S. representative:

"Why has the United States not supported the Soviet proposal to hold a human rights forum in Moscow?"

"We have listed several aspects of the human rights problem," the speaker replied, "where the Soviet side needs to improve its conduct. We shall closely monitor whether it is doing this or not before we decide to support such a forum."

What is this, one wonders, if not an argument based on pressure and strength? A basis unacceptable to civilized relations between states. To be fair it should be said that the U.S. representative's speech also contained constructive elements.

In the atmosphere of the informal meetings during the session, the audience put the U.S. representative on the spot several times. Here are just two of the questions put to him:

"Why do you talk about the South Korean airliner and yet prefer to ignore the shooting down of an Iranian civil airplane by a U.S. cruiser?"

"Why did the State Department ban a group of Soviet tourists in the United States from meeting with U.S. labor unionists this summer?"

Questions on the procedure for citizens' foreign travel and the desirability of the publication of the USSR's military spending figures were put to the Soviet diplomat. All questions were answered. There was a debate, but it was marked by a healthy atmosphere and, on the whole, by goodwill.

"The main thing at these meetings," USSR Cosmonaut V. Kubasov said, "is contact. We need to understand each other better. Of course, it is hardly possible to agree on fundamental changes of viewpoint, but the exchange of opinions is important. All who take part in such a meeting will then be able to convey the other side's stance to the public at large."

At the conference today there were two roundtable meetings of experts on the themes: "Regional Conflicts" and "The USSR and the United States: How We See One Another."

Primakov Addresses Meeting

LD2109030488 Moscow TASS in English 2120 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Tbilisi September 21 TASS—Regional conflicts pose a great threat to the future of Soviet-American relations, Yevgeniy Primakov, director of the Moscow-based Institute of World Economics and International Relations, said.

He participated in a round-table discussion on the role of the great powers in regional conflicts at the fourth Soviet-U.S. public meeting, under way here.

In the scientist's opinion, the world can be exploded not only in a conflict between the superpowers but also as a result of using nuclear weapons by a developing country possessing the technology of their manufacture.

This is why, he said, "the situation in the Third World should not be viewed through the prism of Soviet-American competition".

"The sides should pool efforts to settle crisis situations," Primakov said.

"The U.S. approach to Soviet policies continues to be affected by the [word indistinct] stereotypes: What comes from the United States is good, and what comes from the Soviet Union is bad," the academician went on.

"It is time to give up such an approach and the notion that the USSR seeks to export revolution. Historical experience has shown that this is impossible.

"At the same time, the Soviet Union must be confident that the U.S. does not export counter-revolution."

Primakov said a stronger cooperation between the two countries would make the world safer and more predictable and help settle regional conflicts.

The Asia-Pacific region is one of the major regions where Soviet and U.S. interests are represented.

The Soviet scientist mentioned new Soviet initiatives toward stability in the region, advanced by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk.

The Soviet proposal to reduce the naval presence of both sides in the region is to serve the initiatives' goal.

Participants in the public meeting had a lively roundtable discussion on the subject "USSR—USA: The Way We See Each Other".

U.S. author and journalist Hendrick Smith said that even not long ago both sides had viewed social and political differences between the two systems as a threat to their existence.

Now, he said, another time has come, the time of transition to new thinking.

Changes in realities made the image of the Soviet Union change in Americans' eyes too, Smith went on.

Ruth Salinger of Concord, U.S., president of the public organisation Peace and Justice Fund [words indistinct] two sides should not emphasise their differences but decide how they should live and work together and advance on the basis of the new thinking.

The Soviet-U.S. public meeting will be continued.

NSC Official Cited

LD2109040488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 20 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya newscast; report by correspondent Yu. Rostov—remarks by Peter Rodman, member of the U.S. National Security Council, and Nikolay Shishlin, deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee Political Department recorded]

[Text] The fourth meeting between representatives of the Soviet and U.S. public is continuing in Tbilisi.

[Rostov] At today's plenary session, the discussion focused on the balance of interests, and whether the frequently contradictory interests of the United States and the Soviet Union and the interests of other countries can harmonize in the complex, modern world. Peter Rodman is a member of President Reagan's National Security Council and previously was an advisor to Henry Kissinger. At the start of his speech, he described himself as a conservative. Here are two of the things he said:

[Rodman in English fading into superimposed Russian translation] Vietnam is one of the most (?Stalinist) militarist regimes to have been preserved on earth. Over the course of decades it has tried to take the place of the French and rule over the whole of Indochina.

The military domination of the Sandinists in the region is not a measure in itself; it is a way of continuing a regional crisis.

[Rostov] It is already clear that this conference is different from previous meetings of its kind. The reason for this lies in the positive changes in Soviet-U.S. relations themselves. Two years ago at Yurmala the spirit of two confrontations often dominated; now, even a conservative like Peter Rodman, despite his stereotypes, often has to change his tone. Even he must recognize the possibility of the interests of the two systems harmonizing.

[Rodman] I believe that a balance of interests is possible, perhaps even more attainable than ever before in the postwar period.

[Rostov] The floor is taken by Nikolay Shishlin, deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee Political Department.

[Shishlin] Interests common to all mankind are currently coming to the fore, and it is only by resolving them that it is possible to meet the national interests of each country.

[Rostov] Views do not always coincide among the Soviet delegation.

[Shishlin] In order to console my friend, Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich Bovin, who always argues with me on this point, I will say that classes do not disappear, Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich, classes really do exist. That is the truth for you, but the interests of any class and any social group today can be resolved only by accomplishing tasks which are common to all mankind and interests which are common to all mankind.

[Rostov] We are chatting with Americans who are following the debate today. Peter Robinson is an ecologist. He notes the mainly constructive spirit of the debates, but at the same time he says insufficient attention is being given to questions of future cooperation and insufficient attention is paid to ecology as well. Harriet Crosby, a director of a private institute on Soviet-U.S. relations, was generally impressed by the speech by the Soviet speaker. He understands how contemporary problems are linked.

Petrovskiy Addresses U.S. Editors on UN

LD2009203888 Moscow TASS in English 1935 GMT 20 Sep 88

["Vladimir Petrovskiy Addresses U.S. Newspaper Editors Seminar"—TASS headline]

[Text] New York September 20 TASS—A traditional seminar of American newspaper editors came to a close today. It was held by the American United Nations Association and was timed for the opening 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly.

The participants in the discussion focussed their attention on the forthcoming session, on the question of the U.N. role in the present day interconnected world as well as the place of mass media in the cause of raising U.N. effectiveness.

The Soviet Union comes out in favour of strengthening the UNO and raising U.N. prestige in every way, Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, said in a speech at the seminar which he attended at the invitation of the association.

We are gratified to point out that the UNO is beginning to occupy a place befitting it in our interdependent world and become not only an exponent of the diverse interests of states but also an instrument for balancing them, and a real centre for coordinating their political actions, he pointed out.

The dialogue which successfully develops at the United Nations on the question of the formation of a comprehensive system of international security reveals the need to focus its attention on three main tasks. These are the primacy of international law, the enhancement of the role of the principal agencies of the United Nations as well as peace-keeping efforts.

It is essential to use more fully the positive results achieved by the U.N. General Assembly's third special session on disarmament. The problems of ecological and economic security deserve greater attention in U.N. activities.

A reasonable intellectual policy, which presupposes the overcoming of stereotypes and the establishment of the primacy of values which are common to the whole of mankind, is needed on the part of all countries, Vladimir Petrovskiy emphasized.

PRAVDA on Bush, Dukakis Campaigns

PM2009152388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[Report by V. Sukhoy: "Whom To Choose? U.S. Election Campaign at Its Height"]

[Text] I have in front of me the results of a rather unusual study. Psychologists at Pennsylvania State University decided to look at the possible outcome of the presidential election from the viewpoint of how optimistic or pessimistic U.S. presidential candidates have been in their speeches over the past 40 years and who has been successful.

Having analyzed all the platform speeches delivered by presidential candidates during party conventions, psychologists G. Zollow and M. Seligman established that, since 1948, the candidate whose speech was deemed to be more pessimistic than his rival has won on only one occasion. That was in 1968. Republican R. Nixon beat Democrat H. Humphrey, although the speech he delivered at the "elephant party" convention was less optimistic than the speech by the "donkey party" candidate. All the other presidential elections have been won by the "optimist."

What about the present candidates? Democrat M. Dukakis, the researchers from Pennsylvania believe, should win the election by a margin of 6-7 percent because he is a greater optimist than Republican G. Bush. Zollow and Seligman cite what they regard as two graphic examples from speeches by G. Bush at the New Orleans convention and M. Dukakis at the Atlanta convention.

Talking about corruption on Wall Street, in Washington's "corridors of power," and in city hall, Bush concluded, with a degree of desperation: "I sometimes wonder if we haven't forgotten who we are!"

The psychologists saw this phrase as one of the gloomiest in Bush's entire speech. In their view, the Republican leader delineated the properties of evil, but was completely unable to explain its nature and to say how it must be combated in the future. And here is a fragment from Dukakis' speech: "We will have a vice president who will not sit twiddling his thumbs when some cocksure fellow from the National Security Council suggests swapping the ayatollah's hostages for weapons." Here, the scientists believe, Dukakis not only posed the problem, but made it perfectly clear what precisely would be done to ensure that the situation does not recur.

In any event, the Pennsylvania University psychologists categorized G. Bush as a "pessimist," and they consider that to be able to beat the "optimist" M. Dukakis, he must be at least 15 points ahead of the Democratic candidate by November. Then, they say, he would be able to refute the "psychology manual" calculations.

It must be said that immediately after his "pessimistic" speech in New Orleans G. Bush moved ahead and, according to the results of a Gallup opinion poll conducted for NEWSWEEK, led M. Dukakis by a margin of 51 to 42. Then the gap began to narrow and at the start of September M. Dukakis was even with G. Bush. The latest public opinion polls show that the Republican candidate is ahead again. A poll conducted by USA TODAY in conjunction with CNN television gives the current vice president a lead of only 2 percent—48 to 46. But a Gallup poll shows that G. Bush leads 49 to 41. On 14 September CBS television published the results of a poll it had conducted in conjunction with THE NEW YORK TIMES. An 8 percent lead again: 47 percent for Bush and 39 percent for Dukakis.

U.S. political scientists are known to believe that not too much significance should be attached to the results of public opinion polls, because in the time that remains before the election the leader is going to switch back and forth several times. It is difficult not to agree with this, although the candidates themselves and their advisers and aids seem to set great store by "percentage mathematics." As soon as the polls showed a slump in M. Dukakis' presidential campaign at the beginning of August, the Democratic camp took fright and went on and on about having to "seize the initiative," "change the course of the struggle," "put Bush on the defensive," and so on, believing that the most suitable setting for this was the television debates.

Originally it was planned to hold two rounds of debates before 20 September, but the "Bush team" said that this was impossible: The Republican convention had only just ended, it said, and it needed time to prepare for the debates.

The first television debates are still only in the planning stage, but the "debates" between the candidates are already in full swing. In other words, not a day passes without Bush and Dukakis attacking one another. What are they wrangling over? There is a multitude of problems, in fact. From domestic—high unemployment, inflation, taxes, and questions connected with military expenditure—to foreign—the trade deficit, relations with the USSR, policy in Central America and southern Africa. But recently the skirmish has centered on four main themes: the pledge of allegiance to the national flag, the attitude toward arms control, the death penalty for particularly dangerous crimes, and tax hikes.

How do the approaches differ? The fiercest battle is over the question of the pledge of allegiance to the American flag. The oath was written in 1892—the 400th anniversary of the discovery of the New World. It became widespread and by the beginning of the present century every day began with the recital of the pledge in every school in the land. In 1943 a group of schoolchildren from West Virginia brought an action in the U.S. Supreme Court demanding the abolition of the compulsory morning ritual for religious reasons. The court supported the action and the morning oath of loyalty to the flag in U.S. state schools was abolished.

Approximately in the middle of M. Dukakis' first term as governor of Massachusetts, the state legislature passed a bill according to which all teachers ignoring the student pledge ceremony had to pay a fine. In 1977 Dukakis vetoed the bill in line with the Supreme Court decision and in defense, as he says now, of the U.S. Constitution.

"But I would have signed the bill," G. Bush said, "and then tried to get the earlier Supreme Court decision revoked." Criticizing Dukakis, Bush and his supporters are hinting that the "celebration of American patriotism" means absolutely nothing to the "moderate Greek." Many political observers (A. Lewis of THE NEW YORK TIMES, R. Stingl of TIME, and M. Kinsley of NEW REPUBLIC among them) reckon that by drawing attention to the ritual of pledging allegiance to the American flag the Republican candidate is appealing to voters' basic feelings and is trying to kindle jingoism and chauvinism.

Talking about his Democratic opponent's military concepts, G. Bush claims that Dukakis "will leave America defenseless in the face of a missile attack." "How can he think of holding talks with the Russians on strategic arms cuts," Bush asks, "if he unilaterally abandons new military systems (meaning SDI, Midgetman missiles, and MX missiles on railroad cars, and plans for the creation of another two aircraft carrier systems—V. Sukhoy)?... The American people want to see at the wheel of the state a driver who knows in what foreign policy direction he intends to travel. Not a driver who has not yet decided on his route."

Bush is overdoing the propaganda, of course. Dukakis by no means intends to effect "unilateral disarmament." He is in favor of the deployment of air-launched cruise missiles and ballistic missiles on submarines and advocates the fundamental modernization of conventional armaments. But on the other hand, Dukakis expresses the view that it was not because of U.S. military preparations that the Soviet Union sat down at the negotiating table and, therefore, he does not see the expensive plan to strengthen U.S. strategic forces as an important trump card.

As for the other bones of contention, Dukakis actually was and is against the death penalty for particularly dangerous crimes, whereas Bush is for it. Until very recently there was a rule in Massachusetts that gave long-term prisoners "parole." The prisoners "on parole" would often commit new crimes during "parole," but the governor obstinately defended the practice. Bush is against this rule and at the New Orleans convention he described it as "scandalous."

...Endless arguments and mutual recriminations. In the midst of the hullaballo, the brightly colored train of the 1988 presidential campaign rolls on. The passions of the packed, hollering, singing, applauding, gum-chewing, and flag-and-placard-waving Omni Coliseum and Superdome have abated. The election platforms have been adopted and the "duos" have calculated their financial status. The richest is G. Bush's running mate, Sebator D. Quayle of Indiana, whose fortune is put at $650 million.

The candidates spend most of their time on the road now. The candidate, accompanied by his team, contrives to visit three or even four states a week and squeezes an impossible number of meetings, press conferences, interviews, and local television appearances into each day.

U.S. magazines are increasingly printing maps showing in different colors the states the Republican could win and the states the Democrat could win. One color alternates with the other—just like strip farming. But the large states with the largest electorates—California, Texas, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, and Michigan—are not colored in yet. The fierce struggle has yet to be fought there.

So we know the opinion of the Pennsylvania psychologists. Let us see now what the most subtle psychologist—life—has to say.

Canadian Ambassador Opens Exhibition in Kiev

AU2109121488 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 17 Sep 88 p 3

[RATAU report: "Canadian Modern Art"

[Excerpts] **"Canada, a Country of Artists" was the name given by the organizers—the Canadian Embassy in the Soviet Union and the USSR Ministry of Culture, in cooperation with the Ontario Heritage Fund and the Firestone Art Collection in Ottawa—to an exhibition of modern Canadian art that opened in Kiev on 15 September.** More than 30 pictures by leading Canadian painters, from the collection of the well-known collector, Professor Firestone, were presented in the halls of the Ukrainian Fine Art Museum of the Ukrainian SSR.

The pictures, painted in recent years, reflected the main styles and trends widespread in Canadian fine art and in international art: realism, abstractionism, non-figurativism, and imagism. [passage omitted]

V.G. Turner, Canadian ambassador to the USSR, said at the opening ceremony: "We live in times when relations between our countries are improving and when political and cultural links are being established, because we realize the changes taking place in the Soviet Union. The exhibition offers an opportunity to see works by leading Canadian painters and to better understand the Canadians. For the time being, the people of Kiev will see only a part of Professor Firestone's rich collection, but I hope that in the future they will also be able to see other works from his collection. I think that this exhibition will serve the cause of improving relations between our countries and peoples."

Yu.A. Olenenko, Ukrainian SSR minister of culture; M.N. Romanishyn, director of the museum; and Mrs. Barbara Firestone said that the exhibition would promote cultural relations between the USSR and Canada, and would continue the humane mission of expanding our spiritual horizons.

China

Commentary on Gorbachev Proposal for PRC Ties

OW2109045688 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Commentary by station observer Mulatov]

[Text] Listeners and friends: As you know, Soviet leader Gorbachev announced that the Soviet Union is ready to begin preparations for a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting immediately. Comrade Gorbachev expounded the urgency of [normalizing] Soviet-Chinese relations in the political part of his Krasnoyarsk speech last Friday. In that speech he also put forward a series of new proposals for the security of the whole Asia-Pacific region and the development of cooperation in that area. The following is a commentary by station observer Mulatov:

Among the priorities of Soviet policy on cooperation with other socialist countries, Comrade Gorbachev attaches particular importance to Soviet-Chinese relations. He pointed out with satisfaction: The Soviet Union and China now share more and more identical views. The very deep internal changes currently underway in these two great socialist states certainly facilitates this.

In his speech the Soviet leader particularly noted: The mutual attraction of the Soviet and Chinese people is growing, and the deep interest they feel for each other is filled with new content.

Dear listeners, we think you will agree that current Soviet-Chinese relations are most distinctly characterized by the increasing consolidation of goodwill and trust. The mutual trust between the people of the two countries will, of course, pave the way for a proper settlement of all issues between the two nations.

Comrade Gorbachev emphatically pointed out: We are for complete normalization of relations with China and for their development to a level commensurate with the responsibility of our two countries for peaceful world policies. We are ready to start preparations for a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting immediately.

Dear listeners, let us discuss the Soviet proposal for concerted efforts of the countries concerned to ensure the security of the Asia-Pacific region. As you know, the Soviet Union and China have common interests as well as issues of common concern in this region. In particular, both countries very earnestly hope to create favorable conditions for their peace policies and to eliminate military dangers in the region. For example, the Soviet Union proposed that there be a multilateral discussion on the question of reducing military confrontation where the shores of the Soviet Union, China, Japan, Democratic Korea, and South Korea converge, with the aim of freezing and commensurately reducing the level of naval and air forces and restricting their activities.

The Soviet Union also proposed that [words indistinct]. Considering the special importance of the Soviet Union, China, and the United States, which serve as permanent members of the UN Security Council, our country holds that talks may start among these three.

Although I have not discussed all the new Soviet proposals yet, I hope you understand how great the prospects are for our two countries to consolidate security in the Asia-Pacific region.

Conditions 'Ripe' for Soviet-Chinese Summit

OW2109045988 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Commentary by station observer Alekseyev]

[Text] The Soviet Union attaches great importance to the further development of its friendly and good-neighborly relations with China. Alekseyev, an observer of this station, has the following comments on the matter:

As everyone knows, Soviet-Chinese relations were frozen in the 1960's and 1970's. Therefore, the rapid expansion and deepening of relations between the two countries in various fields in recent years is particularly gratifying. The achievements are impressive. For instance, from 1982 to 1987, the bilateral trade volume increased (?tenfold). This year trade further increased by 30 percent. Other gratifying developments include that the Soviet Union and China have year by year enhanced their mutual understanding in international politics, particularly in efforts to consolidate peace and international security. For instance, China speaks highly of the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty and describes it as an important step towards a nuclear-free world. Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen expressed this viewpoint recently.

However, the progress made in the development of Soviet-Chinese political relations is not yet satisfactory. The Soviet Union thinks that conditions are ripe for holding Soviet-Chinese summit meetings. It is not absolutely necessary for the two countries to be entirely free of differences in some international issues. The purpose of summit meetings is precisely to discuss the differences. Our experience in developing international relations, such as Soviet-U.S. ties, proves that the top leaders of two countries can actively exchange views and create better conditions for eliminating differences during summit meetings.

Considering China's stand, the Soviet Union thinks that at present it is very necessary to try every possible way to eliminate the differences between the two countries, particularly over the Cambodia issue, which China [word indistinct]. We are concerned about progress on this issue. Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev held talks on the Cambodia issue with Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Tian Zengpei in Beijing. Both sides pointed out that the talks were helpful and constructive. The exchange of views enabled the two sides to make progress in this issue and to reach more of a consensus. Both sides pointed out the importance of settling the Cambodia issue and hoped for progress in this regard. This shows that in the settlement of the Cambodia issue [words indistinct]. No doubt, our two countries have made great contributions to the settlement, and this is conducive to the further development of overall friendly Soviet-Chinese relations.

Li Peng Confirms PRC Commitment to Reform

PM2109084388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Sep 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Li Peng on the Chinese Reform"]

[Text] Beijing, 18 Sep—China has scored considerable successes during the 10 years of reform, Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, declared in an interview with the U.S. news agency AP.

RENMIN RIBAO, organ of the CPC Central Committee, reports today that the Chinese leader noted that the PRC will not change its policy of reform. He emphasized that specific steps and forms for the implementation of reform must be determined on the basis of "the prevailing specific situation." Reform in China has encountered certain difficulties. But, Li Peng said, if all the decisions we make are in line with the situation and the people's interests, the people will support them, all difficulties can be overcome, and the reform will advance.

The Chinese leadership is unanimous as regards the course, position, and viewpoint, the chairman of the PRC State Council pointed out. At the same time he noted that there are different views concerning a number of specific forms and steps for the implementation of reform. This, in his words, is a normal phenomenon.

Northeast Asia

ROK Press Views of Gorbachev Speech 'Vary'

PM2009114988 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Sep 88 p 3

[Special correspondent N. Tsvetkov report: "Response to Initiatives"]

[Text] Seoul—You would think that in Seoul, which is hosting the Olympics, the sports events alone would be on everyone's lips. In one sense this is true—the interest in the games is universal. Nevertheless, in the past few days the sports theme has been ousted from the newspaper frontpages and the news broadcasts after the world received the report of M.S. Gorbachev's speech in Krasnoyarsk.

The mass media here are publishing detailed accounts of the foreign policy section of the speech which they call nothing less than a "new manifesto that develops the Vladivostok initiatives." In the process, particular attention is being paid to the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's assessment of the situation on the Korean peninsula where, in his words, signs of a move toward North-South dialogue have begun to be seen.

The USSR's proposals aimed at promoting the idea of general Asian security have caused no less a response south of the 38th parallel. The politicians are keeping silent but the press is commenting comprehensively on these initiatives. Above all on those which call for a discussion on a multilateral basis of the question of reducing military confrontation in regions where the seaboards of the USSR, the PRC, Japan, the DPRK, and South Korea are close together. The commentaries vary in character. In some of them deliberate skepticism alternates with intentional or involuntary distortion of the real thrust of the Soviet foreign policy course. It is clear that those who are accustomed to thinking in stereotypes find it hard to grasp the logic of the new thinking.

Nevertheless, there is another point that I should like to make. Namely, the increasingly broad recognition of the obvious but until recently persistently ignored fact of the Soviet Union's real goodwill. Even the KOREAN HERALD states: "The Krasnoyarsk speech should be regarded as the beginning of practical efforts to achieve economic cooperation and stability in the region and definitely not a means of creating a pacifist image." And again: "Moscow is interested in inter-Korean dialogue which would lead to a reduction of tension... The sooner the better for all concerned."

Sober arguments indeed. And they impress the South Korean reader far more today than those arguments which M.S. Gorbachev labeled as couched in the spirit of primitive anti-Sovietism. Life rejects them here, as well.

U.S. Forces 'Obstacle' to Korean Reunification

SK2009094988 Moscow International Service in Korean 1330 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Station military commentator (Eduard Akatorv) commentary—recorded in Russian fading into Korean translation]

[Text] U.S. forces landed in the southern half of the Korean peninsula when World War II ended 43 years ago. In connection with this, Senior Colonel (Eduard Akatorv), our station's military commentator, will comment:

Neither the Korean people nor any other people could imagine how the landing of the U.S. forces in the southern half of the Korean Peninsula would result. So said (Eduard Akatorv). The U.S. forces landed to force the Japanese forces to surrender. At that time, the Japanese forces had already been destroyed on the continent by the Soviet forces. The U.S. forces only intended to officially put an end to the Japanese militarists' rule over Korea, which had lasted approximately 40 years. The freedom and independence the Korean people had longed for seemed to come to the entire peninsula. Under the guidance of the working class, the workers organized people's committees, their own [word indistinct] city organizations. The owners of plants and enterprises were driven out. Land owners hated by the peasants were also driven out. Enterprises were declared to be owned by the people and land owners could no longer deprive (?tenant farmers) in rural areas of the right to farm the arrable lands they had previously farmed. A broad strata of people conducted the movement to establish a unified democratic Korean state.

Contrary to the northern half, this could not be realized in the southern half. This was because the presence of the U.S. forces hindered it. It soon became clear that the stationing of the U.S. forces in the southern half of the peninsula did not bring about liberation for the Korean people. A month after the U.S. forces were stationed, U.S. Secretary (Arnold) openly declared that South Korea's sovereignty lies not in the Korean people, but in the U.S. military government. People's committees were banned from carrying out their activities. As during the era of the Japanese imperialists' occupation, democratic marches were suppressed without the Korean people's [words indistinct]. U.S. military boots [words indistinct] to suppress patriots who demanded that the working people be given the regime. Suppression and tyranny began to prevail in the southern half of Korea. The approximately 40 years since have been years of Korea's division. This division was accelerated by placing Syngman Rhee, a U.S. puppet, in power. This ruler, who was placed in power by the United States, provoked a fratracidal war by running counter to the will of the Korean people. The imperialist [word indistinct] of the United States created a bloody conflict in Korea and [word indistinct] war that lasted 3 years. The U.S. forces did not leave the southern half of the Korean peninsula even after the Korean Armistice Agreement was signed. Approximately 40,000 U.S. troops and nuclear weapons are stationed in South Korea today.

With the assistance of Washington, South Korea's military potential is increasing. South Korea's 600,000 troops are heightening their aggressive attitude. A U.S.-South Korea joint military exercise is conducted every year according to the Pentagon's scenario. Seoul and Washington are attempting to carry out a military buildup in the southern half of Korea under the pretext of the so-called increased danger of attack from the North. However, in recent years, the number of people who believe this has drastically decreased not only in South Korea, but in other areas as well.

The DPRK's magnanimous peace proposals confidently refute this falsehood and fabrication. How can they talk about the danger of attack from the North at this time when, since 1986, the North side's government has unilaterally ceased to conduct large-scale military exercises and has refrained from conducting [word indistinct] military exercises when dialogue with the South is taking place? How can they talk about the danger of attack from the North when (?the North side's) government again unilaterally declared that the northern half is devoid of nuclear weapons, and proposed turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone? How can they talk about the danger of attack from the North when the DPRK has advanced a broad-based step-by-step proposal to alleviate tension on the peninsula, to achieve military equilibrium by reducing to 100,000 troops on both sides by 1992, and to withdraw all U.S. forces and nuclear weapons from South Korea? That the DPRK unilaterally reduced its forces by 100,000 cannot be seen as a danger of attack from the North.

On the Korean peninsula, the danger does not come from the North. First of all, the danger comes from the U.S. military presence in South Korea. This stems from the imperialists' endless interference in the Korean people's internal affairs. This problem cannot be resolved without removing the factor that created the problem.

The Korean question was created by U.S. interference. This question can only be resolved by [words indistinct] measures to remove the U.S. forces from the Korean peninsula, the very forces that have nestled in South Korea for 43 years. Their presence has become a major obstacle to realizing national reunification according to the interest and will of all the Korean people.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

New Burmese Prime Minister Takes Office

LD2109102288 Moscow TASS in English 0914 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Rangoon September 21 TASS—Saw Maung, head of the military coup staged in Burma Sunday [18 September], today took the post of prime minister in the law and order restoration government formed in the country, official Radio Rangoon reported. Earlier, General Saw Maung took the defence and foreign affairs portfolios.

Change Marks 'New Stage'

PM2009152988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 1

[IZVESTIYA Press Service report: "Burma: New Twist to the Crisis"]

[Excerpts] The handover of power in Burma to the military headed by Saw Maung, defense minister and chief of the Armed Forces General Staff, has marked a new stage in the political crisis in this country in the South Asia region—a crisis which has been developing with kaleidoscopic speed since July of this year. [passage omitted]

The statement by the military that they had taken over power, UPI points out, was made the day after military personnel dispersed the participants in a mass demonstration in Rangoon, when five people were injured, and on the eve of new antigovernment actions announced for Monday: marches and rallies.

A statement broadcast over national radio by the "organization for establishing legality and order in the state," formed by the military headed by Saw Maung, pointed out that the military "will try to overcome the difficulties and privations encountered by the country's people, after which general elections will be held." The task of the military includes, above all, organizing transport operations, supplying the population with food, and restarting the work of enterprises, the statement says.

One of the military's first practical steps, REUTER reports, was to announce the dissolution of parliament, the country's government, and people's councils at all levels. The country's name has also been changed. Henceforth it will be called the Union of Burma.

Reporting on the coup, UPI points out, in particular, that it is aimed, above all, at "preserving the existing status quo." This step—behind which, according to suppositions voiced by agencies, stands Ne Win [retired former leader of Burma]—is "designed to stabilize the situation, but it cannot be ruled out that it will have a different effect."

By all accounts, U.S. State Department spokesperson A. Stockman declared in Washington, the people's first reaction to the events in Rangoon is negative. The opposition leaders, REUTER points out, condemn the military's interference in the events in the country, which previously they had not ruled out.

SRV's Vo Chi Cong Continues Moscow Visit

19 Sep Talks Attendees Listed

BK2009075888 Hanoi VNA in English 0707 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Excerpt] Hanoi VNA Sept. 20—Talks between State Council President Vo Chi Cong and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. Andrey Gromyko were held in the Kremlin yesterday.

Present on the Vietnamese side were Hoang Bich Son, member of the party Central Committee [CC] and head of the party C.C. International Department; Nguyen Viet Dung, general secretary of the State Council; Nguyen Manh Cam, Vietnamese ambassador to the Soviet Union; and Nguyen Dy Nien, deputy foreign minister.

On the Soviet side were Gaibnazar Pallayev, vice chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.; I.A. Rogachev, deputy foreign minister; A.S. Kapto, deputy head of the Commission for External Relations of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee; N.F. Rubdov, chief of the Administrative Bureau of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.; and D.I. Kachin, Soviet ambassador to Vietnam. [passage omitted]

20 Sep Ceremony, Talks Noted

PM2109114988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Sep 88 Second Edition pp 4-5

[TASS report: "End of Soviet-Vietnamese Talks"]

[Text] A.A. Gromyko presented the Order of the October Revolution to Vo Chi Cong, member of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the SRV State Council, in the Kremlin on 20 September.

By decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium this Vietnamese party and state figure has been awarded the Soviet Union's high honor for active participation in the revolutionary movement and for his great and fruitful activity in strengthening all-around cooperation between the USSR and the SRV.

The presentation of the award in the Kremlin's ceremonial hall was attended by V.A. Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Nguyen Manh Kam, SRV ambassador to the USSR; and other Soviet and Vietnamese officials, including participants in the Soviet-Vietnamese talks, the visitors accompanying Vo Chi Cong on his tour of the USSR, and staffers of the SRV Embassy in Moscow.

In a speech during the award presentation A.A. Gromyko stated:

Dear Comrade Vo Chi Cong!

Dear comrades!

It gives me great satisfaction to present today in the Kremlin the Order of the October Revolution to a prestigious figure of the CPV and the Vietnamese state and a great friend of the Soviet people.

You, Comrade Vo Chi Cong, have been given this distinguished award for your active participation in the revolutionary movement and for your great and fruitful activity in strengthening the all-around cooperation between the Soviet Union and the SRV.

You are well known in the Soviet Union as a representative of the glorious cohort of Vietnamese revolutionaries raised by your people's great son, President Ho Chi Minh. Hence, too, the great respect which you feel everywhere in our country.

You joined the party in 1935 and have dedicated all your life as a Communist and revolutionary to the struggle for the people's liberation and their socialist future. You experienced the grim schooling of the underground struggle in South Vietnam. As a member of the leadership of the South Vietnamese bureau of the Communist Party and also in the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam you made a great personal contribution to the triumph of the August Revolution and to the victory over the imperialist aggressors. Under the CPV's leadership your country's people won freedom and achieved national independence.

You now hold high party and state posts and devote your knowledge and experience to the cause of socialist building on Vietnamese soil.

Your great services to the strengthening and development of cooperation between the CPSU and the CPV and between the Soviet and Vietnamese peoples have won recognition in the Soviet Union.

The Sixth CPV Congress and your party's subsequent plenums have outlined considerable and responsible tasks in the renewal of all spheres of social life. The country has been set a lofty and noble goal—the acceleration of socioeconomic development. We sincerely wish you, Comrade Vo Chi Cong, the leadership of the SRV, Vietnamese Communists, and all the Vietnamese people great successes in the fulfillment of these tasks.

On behalf of our party's Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet Government allow me to congratulate you on this high award. I convey to you cordial congratulations and greetings from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

I wish you good health and the very best in labor and in life.

In reply Vo Chi Cong said:

Esteemed Comrade Gromyko!

Dear Soviet and Vietnamese comrades!

Today, as I receive the Order of the October Revolution, the USSR's high award, I am both very glad and moved. I realize that this honor belongs first and foremost to the glorious CPV, created and tempered by President Ho Chi Minh, and to the Vietnamese people, who fought courageously and selflessly against imperialism for national liberation and defended and built their motherland.

Allow me to express my sincere gratitude to the CPSU, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet people for the high honor accorded me and to sincerely thank Comrade Gromyko for his words addressed to the Communist Party and the people of Vietnam.

The presentation of the Soviet state's high award to me is a further demonstration of Vietnamese-Soviet friendship and solidarity and an appreciation of my modest contribution to the cause of strengthening the friendship and comprehensive cooperation between our two parties, peoples, and countries. It is with deep emotion that I promise to continue doing everything in my power to ensure the steadfast strengthening and development of Vietnamese-Soviet relations on a Marxist-Leninist basis for the good of the two countries' peoples and in the interests of peace and socialism throughout the world.

Dear Comrade Gromyko!

Dear comrades and friends!

Our two countries' peoples are currently working to fulfill the majestic tasks of renewal in Vietnam and the restructuring of all spheres of socioeconomic life in the Soviet Union, as set by the 6th CPV Congress and the 27th CPSU Congress respectively.

Our entire party and all the people are making efforts to implement the decisions of the sixth party congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums, achieve the gradual stabilization of socioeconomic life, and create the foundation for economic development in the years ahead.

The Vietnamese people have been attentively watching the progress of restructuring in the Soviet Union and are pleased with its first and very important successes. The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference was an important landmark on the path of the successful implementation of the decisions taken by the 27th party congress.

The Soviet Union's Leninist peace-loving foreign policy is based on the new political thinking and makes a great contribution to the creation of profound changes in the international arena in the interests of peace, friendship, and cooperation among the peoples. We fully support the Soviet Union's great efforts in the sphere of disarmament, efforts which offer broad opportunities for the prevention of nuclear catastrophe and the preservation of peace throughout the world.

The relations of all-around cooperation between our parties and states, based on the principles enshrined in the Vietnamese-Soviet Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation, have entered a new stage in their development based on the course of restructuring and renewal advanced by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 6th CPV Congress and the accords reached between Comrades Nguyen Van Linh and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at their meetings in May 1987 and 20 July 1988.

Together with the CPSU and the Soviet people the Communists and the people of Vietnam are doing everything in their power to ensure that the effectiveness and qualitative state of the cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union correspond to the current level and scale of relations between our countries.

Dear comrades!

Allow me to take this opportunity to wish the Soviet people the successful implementation of the 27th CPSU Congress' course under the leadership of the CPSU.

May the fraternal friendship and all-around cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union strengthen!

Thank you, Comrade Gromyko! Thank you, dear comrades!

The speeches by A.A. Gromyko and Vo Chi Cong were greeted with applause.

The talks between A.A. Gromyko and Vo Chi Cong, member of the CPV Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the SRV State Council, continued in the Kremlin on 20 September.

The Vietnamese guest gave a high appreciation of Vietnamese-Soviet relations. The desire to strengthen collaboration with the Soviet Union in all spheres is the cornerstone of Vietnam's foreign policy and the strategic course of the country and the party. The development of ties between the USSR and the SRV is taking place in accordance with the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation between the two countries, whose 10th anniversary is being marked this year.

Cooperation with the Soviet Union is the priority direction of Vietnamese foreign policy. This means that each day it is filled with substantial specific content. The increasing extraction of oil and gas and of the production of fruit and vegetables in Vietnam are tangible results of the two countries' joint work. It is true that there is still considerable potential to expand joint operations.

The Vietnamese side considers it necessary to deepen Vietnamese-Soviet cooperation so as to bring it to the new stage which corresponds to the present level of relations between the USSR and the SRV.

A.A. Gromyko informed the Vietnamese guests about the progress of restructuring in the USSR. The discussion centered on the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, party Central Committee plenums, and speeches by M.S. Gorbachev in which the ideas of the Soviet land's new political course have been developed.

Particular stress was laid on the significance of the further deepening of the democratization of all aspects of Soviet society's life, and current problems of the country's socioeconomic development were examined. The tasks of transforming the political structure of Soviet society, demarcating the functions of state and party organs, giving new impetus to the work of people's soviets, and strengthening law and order and the rule of law are the priorities at the present stage of restructuring.

The task mapped out by the party is to involve millions of Soviet people in the solution of all the problems facing the country. Glasnost is developing on a broad scale during which shortcomings are being exposed with a view to eliminating them as soon as possible. The struggle to uncover the truth is in progress now in a way that it has never been before.

Great attention is being paid to the solution of the food problem. The same can also be said about consumer goods and housing construction. Communists, like all the Soviet people, are buckling down to the job.

A.A. Gromyko rated highly Vo Chi Cong's analysis of the situation in Vietnam. If the Vietnamese people can achieve victories on the war front there are grounds for believing that they will be repeated in peace time, too. The Soviet Union sees its task in developing and enriching relations with this fraternal country.

It was stressed that the USSR's leadership pays close attention to questions of improving Soviet-Vietnamese economic ties. The situation in this sphere was discussed in detail at the meeting on 20 July last between M.S. Gorbachev and Nguyen Van Linh. In the light of structural changes in the two countries' national economies it is necessary to put new and progressive forms of economic cooperation into practice more actively.

The sides confirmed their determination to continue strengthening Soviet-Vietnamese friendship and and deepening cooperation.

A broad range of international problems was examined. The talks again showed the sides' complete unity of views on the fundamental problems of the present day and on the strengthening of peace.

During the discussion of international questions Vo Chi Cong reported on relations with Vietnam's close neighbors—India, Indonesia, and Thailand—and with other countries.

He said that Vietnam is prepared for the consistent improvement of Vietnamese-Chinese relations, which will serve the common cause of reducing tension, and of detente in Southeast Asia. The two sides confirmed their striving to develop good-neighborly relations with the PRC.

The Soviet side stressed the tremendous significance of the new large-scale Soviet initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk.

Antinuclear feelings have been increasing and the trend away from confrontation toward peaceful and equitable cooperation has been strengthening in the Asia and Pacific region in recent years under the influence of the constructive initiatives of the Soviet Union, Vietnam, and other socialist countries.

Speaking about Afghanistan, A.A. Gromyko said that the United States and Pakistan are flagrantly violating the Geneva accords and that therefore the Soviet Union holds those two countries politically accountable. The USSR has supported and continues to support the strict observance of the Geneva accords.

The Soviet side rated highly the energetic steps taken by the SRV, the PRK, and Laos to achieve the earliest political settlement of the situation around Cambodia on the basis of respect for the Cambodian people's aspirations and in light of the realities pertaining to that country. The participants in the talks noted with satisfaction the positive changes that have occurred recently in the solution of the Cambodian problem, as is demonstrated by the results of the recent informal meeting of the interested sides in Indonesia.

During the talks there was a discussion of the situation in the Near East and the Persian Gulf, the area where recently the Iran-Iraq war was raging. There was an exchange of opinions on the question of relations with Japan.

The Soviet side stressed that the USSR's general course is a policy of peace. It proceeds from that premise when waging the struggle to improve relations with all countries. In this regard special attention has been, is being, and will continue to be paid to ties with the fraternal socialist countries. They include Vietnam.

Vo Chi Cong invited A.A. Gromyko to pay an official friendly visit to the SRV. The Soviet side expressed gratitude for the invitation.

The talks passed in a warm and comradely atmosphere characteristic of the fraternal relations between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the SRV.

The sides agreed that a joint communique would be released to the press on the results of the official friendly visit to the USSR by Vo Chi Cong, member of the CPV Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the SRV State Council.

Vo Chi Cong met with representatives of the Soviet public in the Moscow house of friendship. The guest was told about the activity of the Soviet-Vietnamese Friendship Society and its fruitful cooperation with its counterpart in the SRV. It was noted that this meeting provides further evidence of the attention paid by the two parties and states to social organizations which make a conspicuous contribution to the further strengthening of fraternal Soviet-Vietnamese relations.

Vo Chi Cong expressed gratitude to the society's activists for their efforts and stressed that the source of our peoples' friendship lies in the ideas of V.I. Lenin and the Great October Revolution.

20 Sep Talks End

LD2009192888 Moscow TASS in English 1804 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Excerpt] Moscow September 20 TASS—The Soviet-Vietnamese talks, held by Andrey Gromyko, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Vo Chi Cong, president of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV), were completed in the Kremlin today.

The sides reaffirmed their determination to continue to strengthen Soviet-Vietnamese friendship and to deepen cooperation.

The talks again revealed complete unity of the sides' views on vital problems of our times and on the strengthening of peace.

The two sides reaffirmed their desire to develop good-neighbourly relations with the People's Republic of China. [passage omitted]

Meets Vietnamese Cadres

BK2109035988 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 2300 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] On the afternoon of 20 September, Chairman Vo Chi Cong met and talked with the Vietnamese cadres of the Vietnamese Embassy and various representations of our country in Moscow, including large numbers of our representatives, specialists, cadres, students, and workers in the Soviet Union.

The chairman cordially inquired about their work and learning, and informed them of the situation in the country. He clearly pointed out the initial results and some definite socioeconomic achievements of our people in implementing the renovation line of the sixth party congress. He also mentioned the serious difficulties and the slow improvements along with our people's efforts to resolutely and perseveringly carry out the process of renovation.

Chairman Vo Chi Cong urged the Vietnamese who are working and studying abroad to make every effort to contribute to the common renewal cause of their country.

On behalf of all our cadres and students in the Soviet Union, Ambassador Nguyen Manh Cam promised to satisfactorily carry out the chairman's instruction and painstakingly work and study in order to make the highest contributions to the renovation drive, overcome the difficulties of the country, and tighten the fraternal friendship and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union.

Gromyko, Vo Chi Cong at Ballet

LD2009231788 Mosocw Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 20 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Tonight Vo Chi Cong was present in the Kremlin's Palace of Congresses at a soiree of one-act ballets. [video shows Vo Chi Cong and Gromyko and aides standing in a gallery] Together with the guest were Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko and other Soviet and Vietnamese officials. On the central gallery box were the state flags of Vietnam and the Soviet Union. Before the start, the state anthems of the two countries were played.

Gorbachev Meets Vo Chi Cong

LD2109110988 Moscow TASS in English 1042 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 21 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met in the Kremlin today Vo Chi Cong, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) Central Committee, president of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV). Vo Chi Cong is paying an official friendly visit to the USSR.

Gorbachev told him about progress in perestroyka (restructuring) in our country, work to implement the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and the July plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee.

Vo Chi Cong informed Gorbachev about the fulfillment of the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam, which embarked on the course of renewing all facets of life in Vietnamese society, the accomplishments and difficulties on this path.

During the talks the sides expressed mutual determination to cement in the future as well the bonds of fraternity and multifarious interaction between the CPSU and the CPV, the USSR and the SRV on the basis of the treaty of friendship and coooperation, whose tenth anniversary will be marked next November. They underscored the need to realize stage- by-stage the accords on refining the mechanism of Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation, which were attained during the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Nguyen van Linh, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee.

During the discussion of international issues, the Vietnamese side expressed unreserved support for the Soviet initiatives laid down in Krasnoyarsk recently. The Soviet leader noted that people in the USSR commend the efforts of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea aimed at ameliorating the situation in South-East Asia, turning that region into a zone of peace, stability, security and cooperation. The sides welcomed the shaped-up progress in settling the Kampuchean issue.

Nguyen Manh Kam, ambassador of the SRV to the Soviet Union, was present at the meeting that passed in the atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding, which is traditional for Soviet-Vietnamese relations.

Philippine Defense Minister on Gorbachev Speech

LD2109063788 Moscow TASS in English 0632 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Manila September 21 TASS—Philippine National Defence Minister Fidel Ramos called upon the country's government to give a most attentive consideration to the Soviet initiatives for promoting security in the Asia-Pacific region set out in the speech of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Krasnoyarsk.

The USSR'S proposals should be considered from various viewpoints since at stake are the national interest of the country, he said in Manila.

Ramos declared for gradually phasing out the U.S. military bases in the Philippines.

Envoys Solicit Support for Phnom Penh Line

PM1909143588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[P. Tsvetov article under the "International Comments" rubric: "Developing the Jakarta Process"]

[Text] Aspirations toward peace and national concord consonant with our time cannot leave anyone indifferent. This was graphically confirmed in the course of recent visits to a number of European, African, and Latin American countries by PRK official representatives. Guided by the nation's supreme interests, this country's government is consistently implementing the policy of national reconciliation, which has become a basic element in the course to settle the Cambodian conflict by political means.

The trips carried out by Chea Sim, member of the KPRP Central Committee and chairman of the PRK National Assembly, to the USSR, Poland, the GDR, the CSSR, Hungary, and Bulgaria as a special representative of Heng Samrin, general secretary of the KPRP Central Committee and chairman of the PRK State Council, and the trips by Long Visalo, PRK deputy foreign minister, to Mexico, Angola, the Congo, Cape Verde, and Libya, and those by high-ranking Cambodian diplomats to a number of other states have helped the governments and public of these countries to have a better understanding of Phnom Penh's political line and to boost the PRK's international prestige.

The success of the so-called informal meeting in the environs of Jakarta at the end of July this year between the Cambodian sides, in which representatives of Vietnam, Laos, and the ASEAN countries took part, set a particular seal on the visits by the Khmer people's emissaries. It is difficult to exaggerate the significance of the fact that the participants in the Cambodian conflict met away from the battlefield for the first time and consultations were initiated with a view to unraveling the "Cambodian knot" on the basis of balance of interests. This process that has already been named the Jakarta process is promising. A working group was set up consisting of high-ranking representatives of the sides involved to study the various aspects of a Cambodian settlement and prepare recommendations for a subsequent similar meeting; an accord has also been secured on the latest, the third meeting in Paris between Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, and Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

The interest in Phnom Penh's initiatives is also explained by the fact that today the questions of a settlement to the Cambodian conflict have occupied a more marked place than, say, 1 year ago, in the Nonaligned Movement and in Soviet-U.S. and Soviet-Chinese dialogues. Nor, of course, will the 43d UN General Assembly session skirt these questions.

The countries of socialism and a number of nonaligned states visited by Cambodian delegations demonstrated their solidarity with the constructive steps taken by the PRK leadership aimed at creating an atmosphere of peace, stability, and good-neighborliness in Southeast Asia. It is indicative that in those countries support was given to the understanding achieved in Jakarta to the effect that the Vietnamese troop withdrawal from Cambodia, the prevention in the future of the Pol Pot regime's policy and practice of genocide, and the cessation of any foreign interference in Cambodia's domestic affairs are interdependent key questions in a settlement. This fact illustrates that not only the participants in the informal meeting but also most states of the world see this as the basis for a settlement.

It is now important to preserve what has been achieved on the path to a settlement of the Cambodian problem and not lose the valuable elements of agreement and compromise found in Indonesia. At the same time there is the possibility of developing the Jakarta process rather than stopping at what has been achieved. Of course, this is above all a matter for the people directly involved in the conflict in Cambodia. But other countries and organizations can play a peacemaking role.

The Soviet Union has frequently, notably during Heng Samrin's and Chea Sim's stay in Moscow, stated its desire to make a fruitful contribution, together with all interested states, to the development of the process of a settlement of this conflict and the improvement of the political climate in the Asia-Pacific region as a whole. It is also acting in this direction.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Prime Minister Arrives on Official Visit

Greeted by Ryzhkov, Others

PM2009115388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
20 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Start of Visit"]

[Excerpt] Afghan Prime Minister Muhammad Hasan Sharq arrived in Moscow 19 September on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

At Vnukovo Airport he was warmly greeted at the aircraft steps by N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister; and N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Participating in the welcome were V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; M.S. Smirtyukov, administrator of affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers; USSR Ministers V.G. Zakharov, K.F. Katushev, A.I. Mayorets, V.A. Shamshin, and G.A. Yagodin; A.N. Aksenov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting; S.A. Losev, general director of TASS; Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister; N.G. Yegorychev, USSR ambassador to Afghanistan; V.T. Saykin, chairman of Moscow Gorispolkom; and other officials. [passage omitted]

Meets With Ryzhkov 19 Sep

PM2009102188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Sep 88 Second Edition pp 1, 3

[TASS report: "Soviet-Afghan Talks"]

[Text] Talks opened in the Kremlin on 19 September between Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Prime Minister Muhammad Hasan Sharq of the Republic of Afghanistan who is staying in the Soviet Union on an official friendly visit. Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze is also taking part in the negotiations.

Nikolay Ryzhkov and Muhammad Hasan Sharq compared notes on pressing problems of international life and the situation in the region and thoroughly examined the state of, and prospects for, cooperation between the USSR and Afghanistan in various fields.

It was pointed out that positive processes under way in the world today which have become possible to a considerable extent due to consistent efforts by the Soviet Union and all peace forces in a spirit of new political thinking, are making for more favorable prerequisite conditions for an end to the arms race, for disarmament, and for broader mutually beneficial economic cooperation.

It was stressed that it is imperative for all members of the world community to take an active part in these positive processes.

It was noted in the course of the talks that new approaches to creating a calmer world situation, which are based on the priority of universally shared values, show in the settlement of regional conflicts, most notably the disentangling of the Afghan knot, as well.

The sides stated that the Geneva agreements on a political settlement relating to Afghanistan have provided an important political and legal basis for bringing the situation in the region back to normal and emphasized that a successful furthering of this process is fully dependent on a conscientious and meticulous fulfillment of the accords by all the parties to them.

The Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan are acting precisely in this way. At the same time, continuing interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan from Pakistani territory is preventing an early political settlement relating to Afghanistan and complicating a peaceful resolution of domestic Afghan problems on the basis of national reconciliation, by way of compromise and negotiation.

In a bid to distract public attention from these violations, trumped-up charges have lately been made against Afghanistan of staging bombing runs on Pakistani territory. And although it has been suggested to the Pakistani side that an extensive and impartial international investigation be launched into those "facts", a reply has not been given to this day and this eloquently speaks for itself.

As Soviet-Afghan relations were discussed, the two heads of government expressed satisfaction with the steady broadening of mutually advantageous multifaceted cooperation between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan and called for further consolidating and upgrading it.

It was noted that bilateral relations are acquiring new contents and more effective forms. Direct ties between republics, oblasts, and cities in the USSR and provinces and cities in Afghanistan are growing closer and qualitative changes for the better taking place in cooperation between Soviet organizations and Afghan private entrepreneurs.

The Soviet side reaffirmed readiness to give every kind of assistance to the friendly Afghan people with rehabilitating their national economy and developing social and cultural spheres both on a bilateral footing and as part of international efforts.

The talks, held in a businesslike and friendly atmosphere and marked by complete mutual understanding, will be continued. The following also took part in the talks: On the Soviet side—V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic ties; and N.G. Yegorychev, USSR ambassador to Afghanistan; and on the Afghan side—S.'A. Amin, deputy prime minister; S. Husayn, minister of planning; M.K. Jalalar, minister of commerce; M.A. Zaher, minister for reconstruction and rural development; A.G. Farrahi, minister for returnees' affairs; N. Pazhwak, minister without portfolio; and M. Safi, Afghan ambassador to the USSR.

Gorbachev Receives Sharq

LD2009191688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 20 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev met with Afghan Prime Minister Muhammad Hasan Sharq today in the Kremlin.

Sharq's visit to the Soviet Union takes place at a time when the process of political settlement in the country has reached a very crucial and decisive stage. Noting this, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev highly evaluated the fact that his interlocutor has agreed to head the Afghan Government at the moment when the fate of his people and country is being decided. The content and nature of the conversation was determined by the fact that the new prime minister represents very wide-ranging strata of the Afghan public.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Muhammad Hasan Sharq affirmed that the possibility exists for the national reconciliation policy to be conducted more energetically given the current external circumstances and regardless of the increasing harshness of the extremist forces.

The interlocutors agreed that the most important conditions for the success of this course are strengthening state leadership in the country and the armed forces and conducting a consistent policy aimed at forming a wide coalition that will embrace all political currents and be capable of gaining support throughout society and recognition from the people. The PDPA position and role in this process depend on the constructive stock that is essential in the new conditions, taking into account the new nature of authority that will come about during the political settlement. It is this path that signifies an end to the fratricidal war and eliminates bloodshed between the political groups now confronting one another. They stressed the significance of the solid mutual trust that has come about between the president and head of government who have a special role in solving the nationwide task.

The success of the national reconciliation policy means at the same time strengthening Afghanistan's positions as a neutral, nonaligned, independent state and a worthy member of the Nonaligned Movement, living in harmony with all its neighbors. It is important that this interconnected process of forming a genuine coalition and the full-fledged involvement of Afghanistan in international affairs should take place in keeping with Afghanistan's interests and those of the Soviet Union, India, the Islamic states, the Nonaligned Movement, Pakistan, the United States—the entire world community. The unworthy attitude of the U.S. and Pakistan toward the Geneva accords was noted in this context.

Topical aspects of the military situation in the country were discussed as were questions of implementing assistance, including assistance free of charge, which the Soviet people provide to the Afghan population, and of which Afghan people should be told.

Saying farewell and expressing full satisfaction with the conversation, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev wished the head of the Afghan Government success in his difficult work and asked him to convey friendly greetings to President Najibullah.

Taking part in the meeting were Comrades Shevardnadze and Dobrynin. The full text of the report will be published in the press and broadcast on radio. [video shows Gorbachev, Sharq, Shevardnadze, and Dobrynin seated at a table.]

PRAVDA on Gorbachev Talks

PM21091035 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Sep 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "M.S. Gorbachev's Meeting With M.H. Sharq"]

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met in the Kremlin on 20 September with Prime Minister Muhammad Hasan Sharq of the Republic of Afghanistan.

The latter's visit to the Soviet Union is taking place at a time when the process of a political settlement in his country has entered a crucial phase, the decisive phase.

Pointing this out, Mikhail Gorbachev spoke highly of his interlocutor's consent to lead the Government of Afghanistan at a moment when the destiny of his people and his country is being decided.

The content and nature of the conversation was determined by the fact that the new Afghan prime minister represents broad sections of Afghan society.

During their open [otkrytyy] and very frank exchange of opinions, the interlocutors compared notes on developments in Afghanistan and the policies followed by its leadership both before the April Revolution and after it and during the stay of Soviet troops in the country.

The conclusions and opinions turned out to be close and coincided [blizkiye i sovpadayushchiye] on many points.

On behalf of influential circles which have for many years been involved together with him in the progressive patriotic movement, Muhammad Hasan Sharq expressed their long-standing and firm conviction that a normal development of their country is unthinkable without friendly, equitable, and mutually advantageous relations with the Soviet Union.

Mikhail Gorbachev and the Afghan prime minister noted that possibilities are available to pursue the national reconciliation policy more energetically under current external circumstances and in spite of the embittered stance of extremist forces.

The interlocutors agreed that the most important conditions for the policy's success are as follows: a strengthened state leadership in the country and in its armed forces and a consistent steering of the course of forming a broad-based coalition taking in all the political streams, capable of relying on the whole of society and recognized by the people.

The place and role of the united PDPA in this process will depend on its capacity for constructiveness, which is called for in the new conditions in view of the new nature of the system of power which will take shape in the process of the political settlement.

It is this path that means an end to the fratricidal war and rules out bloodletting between political groups currently in opposition to one another.

Emphasis was placed on the significance of the strong mutual trust existing between the president and the head of government, who have a special role to play in tackling the nationwide task.

Success with the national reconciliation policy means at the same time a strengthening of the positions of Afghanistan as a neutral, nonaligned, and independent state, a worthy member of the Nonaligned Movement living in concord with all its neighbors.

It is important to ensure that this interrelated process—forming a genuine coalition and making Afghanistan a full-fledged participant in international life—proceeds in a way that will take into account the interests of both Afghanistan itself and the Soviet Union, India, the Islamic states, the Nonaligned Movement, Pakistan, the United States, and the entire world community.

In this context note was taken of the unworthy attitude to the Geneva agreements on the part of Pakistan and the United States. The fundamental significance of these accords to developing positive trends across the world has been generally recognized.

The quality of a policy followed by this or that state is now judged by its attitude to them and this is all the more so when it comes to the policies of those who have signed them.

Needless to add, violations of these agreements are protracting the suffering and privations of the Afghan population and leading to completely unjustified loss of life.

The pressing issues of the military situation in Afghanistan were discussed, as were those of assistance, including free aid, which is being given to the Afghan population by the Soviet people and which the former should know about.

As he took leave and expressed complete satisfaction with the meeting, Mikhail Gorbachev wished the Afghan head of government success in his difficult work and asked him to convey friendly greetings to President Najibullah.

As to temporary setbacks on the way to a goal in the name of one's people, they are for responsible figures only an impulse to step up activity, Mikhail Gorbachev said in conclusion.

Also taking part in the meeting were Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Sharq Holds News Briefing

LD2009170188 Moscow TASS in English 1640 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—The Afghan delegation is fully satisfied with the results of the visit to the Soviet Union and the exchange of views with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on matters concerning bilateral relations and the international situation, Prime Minister Muhammad Hasan Sharq of the Republic of Afghanistan said at a news conference here today.

"The meeting with the Soviet leader was held in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding," he emphasized.

The wide-ranging talks with Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, have convinced us once again that the Soviet friends proceed along the road of broadening traditional cooperation and assistance to Afghanistan in the new historical conditions, the head of the Afghan Government said.

The historic document signed today, "a long-term program for economic, technical and trade cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan for the period ending in the year 2000", reflects the Soviet Government's pledge to render considerable assistance to Afghanistan in rehabilitating its economy.

The prime minister pointed out that the Afghan Government consistently pursued the policy of national reconciliation. "The dream of the Afghan people is to stop the fratricidal war and to establish peace in our long-suffering land," he said.

Mohammad Hasan Sharq stated with regret that Pakistan and the United States did not observe the provisions of the Geneva accords and thereby had taken up "a hostile attitude to the Afghan people's sacred aspiration for peace". The firing of missiles on Afghan populated areas, the flow of arms from Pakistan, and obstacles being put in the path of refugees who seek to return home—all are examples of breaches of the Geneva accords on the part of Pakistan and those who patronize it, he said.

Within the framework of the national reconciliation policy the Republic of Afghanistan is ready to hold talks with opposition forces, including the 'Alliance of Seven', in a desire to avert senseless loss of life. "However, a certain part of the opposition continues to disturb Afghanistan's peace, replying to our initiatives by the [words indistinct] missiles," the prime minister pointed out.

In answer to the question by a TASS correspondent concerning accusations that Afghan aircraft ostensibly bombed Pakistani territory, he said: "We categorically refute such reports. We have no ground for bombing raids. Our only desire is to convince Pakistan of the need to implement the Geneva accords". He expressed the view that Pakistan's falsehood as to bombing raids was being circulated for the purpose of creating a pretext for violating the Geneva accords.

Touching upon the problem of refugees, the prime minister told journalists that the Afghan authorities provided all returnees with transport for them to get from the border to places of residence as well as with clothes and food for six months.

Kremlin Dinner Held

PM2109130188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Sep 88 Second Edition pp 4-5

[TASS report under the general heading "In the Interests of Friendship and Cooperation" on 20 September Kremlin dinner speeches and talks between USSR Council of Ministers Chairman N.I. Ryzhkov and Afghan Prime Minister M.H. Sharq]

[Text] The Soviet Government held a dinner in the Great Kremlin Palace on 20 September in honor of Afghan Prime Minister Muhammad Hasan Sharq.

Together with the guest were the Afghan officials accompanying him on his tour.

Present on the Soviet side were N.I. Ryzhkov, N.V. Talyzin, A.F. Dobrynin; deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; USSR ministers; chairmen of USSR state committees; and other officials.

A speech was delivered at the dinner by N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Speech by N.I. Ryzhkov [subhead]

We are meeting in Moscow with top Afghan representatives at a very crucial period, when the fate of the political settlement of the position in that country is being decided and persistent efforts are being made to preserve and assert Afghanistan as an independent, nonaligned, and neutral state.

This underscores the importance of your visit, Mr Prime Minister—a visit which has been welcomed with satisfaction in the Soviet Union, all the more so as it is your first official visit to our country in the lofty position of Afghan prime minister. We also cordially welcome all the esteemed Afghan guests who have come with you.

Your meeting today with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the talks in Moscow have convincingly reaffirmed both sides' desire to build relations between the USSR and Afghanistan in the spirit of the traditions of good-neighborliness and friendship and on the principles of equal rights, mutual respect, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs.

The Soviet Union realizes just how considerable are the difficulties that the Afghan people are having to overcome on the path to ending the bloodshed and stabilizing the situation in and around the country. But, nonetheless, positive processes are evident there, and Soviet people are in solidarity with Afghans in their efforts to return their motherland to peaceful life and restore their war-torn national economy. We are ready to continue giving neighboring Afghanistan all possible assistance in resolving these vitally important tasks.

The signing of the Geneva accords was an event of abiding importance, which is being rightly compared in terms of its significance with the conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. It is proving in practice a good example that can be used in settling other regional conflicts.

The Soviet Union and Afghanistan have completed the first stage of the implementation of the Geneva accords correctly and conscientiously. On 15 August the Afghan people bade farewell with a sense of gratitude to our soldiers from that half of the Soviet military contingent which was to be withdrawn by that date. And if the mechanism for a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan backfires, the people responsible should be sought first and foremost in Islamabad. The interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs that is being conducted from Pakistani territory not only continues but is still increasing. It is clear that this situation cannot be seen as acceptable. That is why the Soviet Union and Afghanistan reserve the right to take agreed measures that will be dictated by the prevailing situation. I would like to hope, however, that Pakistan's new leadership will embark on the road of constructive cooperation in implementing the Geneva accords and thereby make its own practical contribution to eliminating a dangerous seat of tension.

Despite the difficulties, the national reconciliation policy is gathering pace and becoming an increasingly effective factor along the only sensible path of ending the fratricidal war—the path of national harmony, broad dialogue, and compromise. The very fact that an Afghan Government has been formed on a pluralist basis is a step toward the creation of extensive coalition organs of power, which is an important element in the national reconciliation course.

The Soviet Union—and this is our principled position—believes that nobody apart from the Afghans themselves can or should resolve Afghanistan's domestic problems. We do not intend to propose any ready-made solutions in these matters. But our good advice to those gambling on force is to switch the struggle to a peaceful footing and to allow the Afghan people themselves to determine their own fate on the basis of existing national democratic institutions. This, we believe, is the aim of President Najibullah and the Afghan Government headed by you, esteemed Mr Sharq. Kabul's call for a wide-ranging settlement of internal disputes and dissension has been dictated by good will and concern for its motherland's peaceful future and the prosperity and well-being of its people.

The good-neighborliness and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan have roots that go right back to the time when our then-young states were being formed. They were strengthened by the blood jointly shed by the Soviet and Afghan servicemen who together defended Afghanistan's sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity from outside incursions.

The Soviet Union has never had any selfish or ignoble aims with regard to Afghanistan. The Leninist principles of our foreign policy have been strengthened still further in the period of restructuring and the assertion of the new political thinking. We profoundly respect the Afghan people's right to choose their country's social system, way of life, and policies themselves.

The Soviet Union consistently supports Afghanistan's efforts aimed at strengthening the foundations of its independence and prosperity—the creation of a modern economy and the development of national science and culture. This has been demonstrated by the entire experience of our cooperation and is attested by the recent joint spaceflight by a Soviet-Afghan crew.

Friendly Soviet-Afghan cooperation is now entering a new stage, when the tasks of restoring the war-torn national economy, providing an economic and social base for the processes of peaceful settlement, and giving assistance to Afghan refugees returning home are coming to the fore.

Discussion of the range of these issues has been one of the main themes of the current talks. The Soviet state is prepared to continue giving Afghanistan all-around assistance in building industrial, mining, power generation, agricultural, and other projects, in training national cadres, and in other spheres. The structure and parameters of our economic and technical cooperation and trade turnover have been adjusted in light of the demands of the present day. A special role in this regard should be played by direct ties and joint enterprises. Great attention is being devoted to involving Afghanistan's national private capital in cooperation. We are striving to improve the effectiveness and stability of our ties and to give them a reliable future. The Long-Term Program for Economic, Technical, and Trade Cooperation for the Period Through the Year 2000 signed today and the agreement on the provision of Soviet credit for priority work envisaged by this program are a concrete expression of this.

Helping to establish peace on Afghanistan's long-suffering land and providing assistance to the Afghan people—including returning refugees—in economic and social construction has become a task on an international scale. We note with satisfaction the great UN contribution to the achievement of the Geneva accords and its activity in providing economic and humanitarian aid to Afghanistan.

The Soviet-Afghan talks currently being held have reaffirmed the commonality of our assessments of the international situation and our positions on the most important problems of the modern world. This predetermines the possibilities for our future cooperation and collaboration in all areas of foreign policy, disarmament, the prevention of nuclear war, the development of political dialogue, and the expansion of international cooperation.

We look to the future of Soviet-Afghan relations with optimism and intend to continue doing everything to develop cooperation between our states and peoples and to strengthen the traditional friendship and good-neighborliness between the USSR and Afghanistan.

We wish the Afghan Government success in carrying out the complex tasks facing it in implementing the course of national reconciliation, asserting peace on Afghan soil, and speedily eliminating the consequences of the many years of conflict.

We wish you, esteemed Mr Prime Minister, good health and great successes in your responsible activity in the interests of the Afghan state and its people!

May the friendship, good-neighborliness, and cooperation between the Soviet and Afghan peoples grow stronger!

M.H. Sharq then spoke.

Speech by M.H. Sharq [subhead]

Permit me to express profound gratitude on my own behalf and on behalf of the delegation accompanying me for the warm welcome and hospitality from our Soviet friends. May I take the opportunity on this ceremonial occasion to convey greetings and best wishes from the Afghan leadership and people to the top leadership and peace-loving people of the Soviet Union.

Your Excellency Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, your warm and friendly words are the best evidence of the sincerity and selfless friendship shown by the Soviet people and government toward the Afghan people and government.

Our visit to your country is being held at a time which could be described as a period that is deciding the destiny of the Afghan people.

A few days ago Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad, the first Afghan space explorer, and spacecraft Commander Vladimir Lyakhov made the first joint Afghan-Soviet spaceflight. This fruitful flight, the conditions for which were created for us Afghans with the cooperation of you good friends, raised relations between our states and peoples to a higher level.

Our current visit at the invitation of the USSR Government—my first official visit abroad since being appointed Afghan prime minister—is in itself yet another example of our Soviet friends' good will in strengthening sympathies and friendly relations between our governments and countries. We assess this visit as a most important first step taken by the government in accordance with our people's firm desire to increasingly develop and deepen the longstanding friendship between our countries. The constructive and fruitful results reached during the talks with Your Excellency Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov convince us that the USSR, as a reliable friend of the Afghan people, will provide every assistance along the path of safeguarding our motherland's peace and prosperity and our people's well-being. The Soviet Government's readiness to assist the country's restoration within the framework of the program being implemented by His Excellency the Aga Khan, coordinator of international aid to Afghanistan, together with the bilateral direct Soviet aid to Afghanistan in itself proves that our Soviet friends are making a worthy contribution to the comprehensive settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. The Long-Term Program for Economic, Technical, and Trade Cooperation between Afghanistan and the USSR in the Period Through the Year 2000 signed in the Kremlin is a vivid example of the continuation of fruitful and selfless cooperation between the USSR and Afghanistan.

Our people are well aware that the Soviet Union, despite what certain people are claiming, strives for permanent and equal friendship with the entire Afghan people, irrespective of political sympathies or trends among the Afghans, and is a firm supporter of a free, independent, and nonaligned Afghanistan. The traditionally friendly relations between our countries and peoples that go back to the times of the restoration of Afghan independence and the founding of the great USSR are expanding and strengthening with every passing day. Thanks to this long-standing friendship the Afghan people have resolved, are resolving, and will continue to resolve their vitally important problems on the basis of mutual understanding and mutually advantageous cooperation.

We attach great significance to the further development of friendly relations with the Soviet Union and make a high assessment of the USSR's selfless aid aimed at strengthening our country's independence, territorial integrity, and national sovereignty and improving our long-suffering people's prosperity. You, dear friends, are well aware of the situation around Afghanistan and the socioeconomic and political difficulties that we are encountering within the country. You know that the present government has shouldered an enormous and major responsibility at this exceptionally difficult period in the country's history.

Afghans—both those living inside the country and those abroad—were hoping that the signing of the Geneva accords would settle the external aspects of the Afghan problem and that they would be able, following the people's good tradition and the path of negotiation, to eradicate the internal factors and contradictions that have served as a cause of this protracted and destructive war.

The Republic of Afghanistan, proceeding on the basis of this legitimate desire of the Afghan people and aiming to end the fratricidal war, has proclaimed and is implementing a policy of national reconciliation, which is a broad compromise of a social and political nature. The undeviating implementation of this humanitarian policy, which has the broad support of all Afghans inside and outside the country, has created favorable conditions for profound transformations in the social-political and economic structure of the country. With the adoption and entry into force of the Republic of Afghanistan Constitution at the November 1987 Grand Assembly a coalition form of government and a multiparty system emerged in the social-political sphere and a mixed economy system was developed. The country's parliament started operating with the election of deputies representing the majority of the Afghan people. The country's parliament gave the present government's course a vote of confidence.

In order to settle internal aspects of the Afghan problem the government invited all Afghan refugees and armed opposition groups in the country and abroad to embark on talks without preliminary conditions in order to find ways of halting the ruinous and destructive war in concord and cooperation and attain this goal together. We have repeatedly stated that our government sees reconciliation of the warring sides as its main and most important task, and our sole wish is to provide a "bridge" on the path of the attainment of these lofty goals. The government has not established a monopoly on any offices or posts and is prepared, for the purpose of establishing national peace, to discuss any problems with all interested sides wherever they like.

You will know, dear friends, that the Republic of Afghanistan, having confidence in the effectiveness of these measures and demonstrating a flexible approach, contributed to the establishment of favorable conditions for the signing and implementation of the Geneva agreements with the Islamic Republic of Pakistan under U.S. and Soviet guarantees. The signed agreements, which are fully concordant with UN aims and principles, are being precisely and undeviatingly observed by the Republic of Afghanistan and the USSR.

The world community and even the press and propaganda organs of the opponents of Afghan independence and security acknowledge the Afghan and Soviet sides' sincerity in observing the pledges contained in the signed agreements.

But permit me to note with regret that, ever since the Geneva agreements were signed and entered into effect, the Pakistani and U.S. sides have been acting and are continuing to act stubbornly and persistently in defiance of the pledges adopted in Geneva. The training and arming of bands of saboteurs on Pakistani territory and their dispatch to Afghanistan to perpetrate new acts of vandalism and violence against our country and people are not only continuing, but are increasing. The growing number of "surface-to-surface" and "surface-to-air" missiles the United States is supplying to bellicose extremists with Pakistan as the intermediary makes our homeland's and our people's suffering and pain even greater. The quantitative and qualitative increase in supplies of barbaric weapons to these warmongers is continually aggravating our people's pain and bitterness.

An extensive propaganda and psychological war has been launched against the Republic of Afghanistan from the territory of Pakistan in collusion with its bellicose patrons. This war is so far advanced that the Pakistani authorities have set up a so-called "provisional government" on their territory and are now trying to export it to Afghanistan with the help of Pakistani tribal militia units.

Seeing the precise fulfillment of the Geneva agreements as the best way of preventing the exacerbation of tension and a slide toward disaster in the region, we say that Pakistan's constant efforts to avoid fulfilling the pledges arising out of these agreements means, in fact, an intensification of the war and the bloodshed for the totally innocent Muslim people of Afghanistan. This manner of behavior in respect of a neighboring country is unworthy of any civilized government. We hope that the new leadership of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan will sincerely observe the pledges adopted in Geneva in order to safeguard the interests and meet the demands of its people and also to improve the situation in our region. In this way we would be able together to continue our dignified peaceful life as two good neighbors, two fraternal Muslim peoples.

The people of the Republic of Afghanistan, the citizens of our free, independent, and nonaligned state feel a sense of deep satisfaction and appreciation of your country's efforts to relax regional and international tension. We wholly and fully support and approve the efforts your peace-loving country is making in light of the new political thinking on the path to eliminating the threat of nuclear weapons, to general disarmament. We were enormously interested in the results of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference which determine the main directions for the further implementation of restructuring, the comprehensive development of glasnost, and genuine democratization of public life. The people of Afghanistan were enormously inspired by the results of the party conference, particularly in connection with its approval of the continuation of the course of comprehensively assisting the Republic of Afghanistan.

The Afghan people, firmly resolved, with the help of the Almighty, to overcome all the problems and difficulties, need as much assistance as possible from their reliable friend, the USSR, and have always been and will remain sincerely grateful to it for this assistance.

I want to tell you and the whole world that our country and our people are deeply appreciative and grateful to their Soviet friends for the selfless cooperation which has played an invaluable, decisive part in all spheres of our people's life. We are sure that you, our proven friends, who have helped Afghanistan throughout the history of relations between the two countries, will give us even more assistance in eliminating the consequences of the devastating war.

I want once again to express my cordial gratitude to you, dear Nikolay Ivanovich, and, through you, to the government and people of the Soviet Union, for the warm and friendly reception I and the delegation accompanying me have had on the territory of a cordial friend and neighbor—the USSR.

Please accept best wishes for happiness and future success from the Afghan people to the Soviet people.

In conclusion, M.H. Sharq advocated the further strengthening and development of Afghan-Soviet friendship and cooperation.

The speeches by N.I. Ryzhkov and M.H. Sharq were greeted with applause. The dinner took place in a friendly atmosphere.

On 20 September talks continued in the Kremlin between USSR Council of Ministers Chairman N.I. Ryzhkov and Afghan Prime Minister M.H. Sharq.

During the comprehensive examination of questions of cooperation between the two countries the priority areas for deepening and improving that cooperation in the economic, scientific-technical, cultural, and social spheres were determined. The sides will seek to enhance the significance of Soviet-Afghan cooperation as a factor that contributes, together with the increasing efforts by the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan, to the revival of the war-ravaged national economy, the improvement of the living standard of the country's population, and, thus, the implementation of the national reconciliation course and the deepening of constructive intra-Afghan dialogue geared to establishing peace in the country.

Emphasis was placed on the significance of the direct links that are expanding between Soviet republics, oblasts, and cities and Afghan provinces and cities. It was noted that these links are an important area of Soviet-Afghan cooperation and are a promising form of collaboration between the two peoples.

The Afghan prime minister expressed appreciation for the great attention the Soviet Union gave to matters connected with the preparation and implementation of the joint Soviet-Afghan space flight, which made a broad impact in both countries and all over the world.

On the same day the signing took place in the Kremlin of a Long-Term Program of Economic, Technical, and Trade Cooperation between the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan for the period through the year 2000. The document was signed by N.I. Ryzhkov for the Soviet side and M.H. Sharq for the Afghan side.

An agreement on economic and technical cooperation in carrying out the priority work envisaged by the program was signed by K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, and S. Husayn, Afghan minister of planning.

A protocol on the training of Afghan citizens at Soviet higher and secondary specialized educational establishments in 1989-1993 was signed by G.A. Yagodin, chairman of the USSR State Committee for People's Education, and N. Pazhvak [name as published], Afghan minister without portfolio.

M.H. Sharq visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and laid a wreath. He observed a minute's silence in memory of the creator of the CPSU and founder of the world's first socialist state.

The guest paid tribute to the Soviet troops who fell in the struggle against fascism and for the peoples' peace and happiness by laying a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall.

On 20 September Afghan Prime Minister M.H. Sharq left Moscow for Leningrad. He is in our country on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

He was seen off at Vnukovo Airport by N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other officials.

The Afghan and Soviet state flags were flying at the airport. An honor guard drawn from the Moscow garrison was lined up on the tarmac. A band played the two countries' national anthems.

N.I. Ryzhkov and M.H. Sharq inspected the Soviet troops.

The farewell ceremony ended with a march-past by the honor guard.

M.H. Sharq is being accompanied on the tour of the country by N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other officials.

The capital's streets and squares through which the motorcade and motorcycle escort passed on the way to the airport were decorated with the two countries' state flags and banners with greetings inscribed on them.

Sharq Travels to Leningrad

LD2009205088 Moscow TASS in English 1930 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Leningrad September 20 TASS—Afghanistan's Prime Minister Muhammad Hasan Sharq, staying in the Soviet Union on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government, arrived in Leningrad from Moscow today.

At Pulkovo Airport, where the flags of Afghanistan, the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation were hoisted, the guest was met by Vladimir Khodyrev, chairman of the Executive Committee of Leningrad's City Soviet (Council), and other officials.

The motorcade, which headed to the prime minister's residence, was warmly greeted by Leningraders. The streets were decorated with banners devoted to friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

The programme of Sharq's stay in the second biggest city of the Soviet Union includes acquaintance with its economic and social development, cultural life and historical and architectural monuments.

Kornilov on U.S., Pakistani Accord Violations

LD2109023888 Moscow TASS in English 0009 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov writes:

Lately Islamabad has been levelling far-fetched accusations at Afghanistan to the effect that it makes bombing air raids on Pakistani territory. Although it was suggested to the Pakistani side that a large-scale impartial international inquiry into the "facts" be carried out, there has been no reply so far. This speaks for itself.

This has been stated at the current Soviet-Afghan talks in Moscow by Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and by Prime Minister Muhammad Hasan Sharq of the Republic of Afghanistan.

At the briefing in Moscow for Soviet and foreign journalists on Monday, a spokesman for the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs described Pakistan's accusations against Kabul as sheer invention.

The falsehoods have been exposed. Noteworthy, however, is the fact that the spreading of such kind of inventions by certain circles in Islamabad is continued. Such stubborn attempts at launching the canard which has already been disproved gives rise to the following question: What do the organizers of this disinformation seek? This question is all the more legitimate, considering the political 'background' against which Pakistani and other Western sensation-mongers practice in spinning anti-Afghan yarns.

Gross violations of the Geneva accords on the part of Pakistan increase rather than cease, which is evidenced by numerous and irrefutable facts which have been given in a "white paper" which has just been made public in Kabul. What purpose does Islamabad pursue by drumming up anti-Afghan hysteria?

It seems that the point is not only in the fact that Islamabad, making use of falsehoods about 'bombing raids' on Pakistani territory, tries to conceal its own acts of interference in internal Afghan affairs. It seems that some people in Islamabad, and not only there, would like to make use of the falsehoods as a pretext to prepare new, more serious provocations against sovereign Afghanistan.

Can it be that the opponents of the Geneva agreements are nurturing an adventuristic idea which is extremely dangerous to Pakistan itself that an air strike should be delivered against targets on Afghan territory as a 'retaliatory act'? Analysts wonder. Anyhow, adventure seekers should bear in mind that both the Soviet Union and Afghanistan, while strictly observing the Geneva accords, are at the same time prepared to give a fitting rebuff to any attacks and provocations which would ultimately turn against their organisers.

One cannot but tell that tension on the Afghan-Pakistani border is being deliberately brought about by Islamabad obviously with the knowledge, if not at direct bidding, of those U.S. circles which, while in words advocating the fulfilment of the 'Geneva package' obligations, in actual fact continue to pursue the policy towards torpedoing the obligations. What else can explain that Washington not only blinks at Islamabad's glaring violations of the Geneva accords but also connives at those violations in every way, increasing military supplies to the so-called intransigents, and seeking, in point of fact, to draw Pakistan into direct confrontation with Afghanistan?

Only one thing is needed for a political settlement of the Afghan problem: strict and full compliance with the Geneva accords and constructive political will of all the parties involved.

Those who under the cover of provocative inventions continue to violate the obligations of the 'Geneva package' are assuming serious, very serious responsibility, to their own peoples and to the world public opinion.

Clearing of Minefield in Afghanistan Described

PM2009142388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Sep 88 First Edition p 5

[Correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik "Correspondence From Afghanistan": "1,519th Eliminated..."]

[Text] As the press has already reported, during the first stage of the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from Afghanistan 1,518 minefields were eliminated. Recently another, the 1,519th, destroyed by Soviet sappers near Kabul, ceased to exist.

The Western outskirts of Kabul... Immediately beyond the walls of the villages of Kala-Kazi and Kalajabarkhan [both names as published] there extends the steppe, overgrown with haloxylon and camel's thorn. Mountains are on the horizon. Soviet guard posts were erected on the commanding heights to defend the villages in the summer of 1983 and antipersonnel minefields surrounded by barbed wire with signs in Russian and Dari reading "Danger: Mines!" were erected on the sectors where the bandits were most likely to penetrate.

For a long time one of these minefields, No 44, reliably covered the approach to the two villages and now the time had come to eliminate it.

Journalists from the USSR, the United States, Britain, and the FRG had come with the sappers to the elimination site. Here too were Afghan officers headed by Major General Muhammad Ayub [name as published], chief of the Afghan Defense Ministry Engineering Directorate, from whom I requested a short interview.

"With the entry into force of the Geneva agreements the Soviet sappers have embarked on the gradual elimination of the minefields they laid with the knowledge and consent of the Afghan Government to cover access to garrisons and sentry posts and to guard national economic establishments. We are now attending the destruction of the 1,519th minefield. The Soviet sappers will continue this difficult work. It should be stressed that the Soviet side is passing on some minefields to us with the necessary documents. The Afghan Army command will decide independently where to retain minefields and how many to retain. You must agree that there is a fundamental difference between a minefield fitted with a special fence and warning signs, as international rules demand, and the minefields secretly laid by the rebels around villages and on mountain roads. It is the latter which today present the greatest danger to civilians and refugees returning home. And the scale of the 'mine warfare' unleashed by the opposition is enormous. In the first half of this year alone Soviet and Afghan sappers discovered and defused 10,826 mines, mainly of American, Italian, and British manufacture."

...It is 1105 local time. Lieutenant Colonel M. Pevnev radios the order to the crew of the armored obstacle-clearing vehicle—Junior Sergeant V. Mitrofanenko and Private N. Shkitov:

"Get to work eliminating the minefield."

Scarcely had the vehicle entered the danger zone when a bright flash came from under the minesweeping attachment. Clouds of thick dust surrounded the area and shards whistled through the air. Soon a second explosion and then a third were heard...

For over an hour the armored obstacle-clearing vehicle lambasted a comparatively small sector of the steppe 200 meters long and 50 meters wide. We counted about 70 explosions. That was the number of mines, or to be more precise 71, which, as was recorded in the No 44 minefield log, were laid here.

But before the the commission chairman—Lieutenant Colonel M. Pevnev, chief of the obstacle clearing group of the limited contingent of Soviet troops on the Soviet side and Colonel A. Shukur [name as published], chief of the Afghan Army obstacle clearing department on the Afghan side—put their signatures to the act on the elimination of this minefield, the sappers went out once more. Now there were details with mine searching dogs. With the aid of detectors the sappers headed by Lieutenant V. Blazheychuk carefully checked the quality of the mine clearing and removed the fence.

Minefield No 44 had ceased to exist. That is borne out by the signature left by our sappers: "Checked: No mines!"

Rebels Fire Rockets on Kabul; 9 People Killed

LD2009165488 Moscow TASS in English 1627 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Kabul September 20 TASS—The Afghan capital today again came under a rocket attack.

Die-hard opposition extremists fired six rockets on densely populated areas in the city and one of the rockets hit a school.

According to preliminary data, nine persons were killed and four others wounded as a result of the barbarous attack.

TASS Notes First Israeli Satellite Launched

LD2009163788 Moscow TASS in English 1553 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Cairo September 20 TASS—On Monday Israel launched its first satellite, reports the Egyptian newspaper AL-AKHBAR.

According to some Israeli newspapers, the satellite is designed for gathering intelligence information on Arab countries. Despite the claims by Israeli Prime Minister Shamir that this is not a military satellite, most analysts believe that the Israeli space programme is of a military nature.

While participating in the U.S. "Strategic Defense Initiative", Tel Aviv got access to some types of sophisticated military technology, which enabled it to develop several new classes of combat missiles and now to put into orbit a spy satellite.

Arab political quarters point out that the military cooperation between the USA and Israel is a big threat for Mid-Eastern peoples.

Satellite Implications Viewed

TA2009184388 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1630 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The first Israeli satellite, Horizon-1, has been launched into orbit. The international press hastened to report that this is a military satellite. The British weekly FLIGHT, for instance, reports in its last issue that this is an intelligence satellite and that it will gather sensitive military information.

Publications in this spirit have caused concern in official circles, primarily in the Arab world. Clovis Maqsud, the observer on behalf of the Arab League in the United Nations, announced that the Arabs regard the launching of the Israeli satellite as a dangerous military challenge and called on the Arabs to accelerate their military preparations. Similar reports appeared in the press in Damascus and Baghdad.

It is true that Professor Yuval Ne'eman, the Israeli Space Agency's director, denied FLIGHT's report, saying that Horizon-1 is an experimental satellite, unrelated to any security project. It is, however, important to pay attention not only to the statement, but also to the person who made it. Prof Ne'eman, also known as the Israeli Dr Strangelove, is one of the pillars of the Israeli extreme rightwing. He is a Knesset member on behalf of the Tehiya Movement and the author of the Israeli nuclear project. Many will recall the interview master Ne'eman granted YEDI'OT AHARONOT a few days ago, in which he practically admitted that the new satellite will photograph the territory of the Middle Eastern countries. Is this not a political banquet [as heard]?

The conclusion is that despite the denial of FLIGHT's reports, there are reasonable grounds for concern. In the tense atmosphere prevailing in the Middle East, one can assume that the Arabs will disbelieve the soothing remarks of the Israeli notables. It will be further noted that the Tel Aviv Defense Ministry refused to react either to Prof Ne'eman's statement or the report published by FLIGHT.

The question now is what impact the Israeli launch is liable to have on the countries in the Middle East. The presumed scenario is that the Arab confrontation states will regard it as another stage in the Israeli military reinforcement. If they reach the conclusion that Horizon-1 is an intelligence satellite, they will seek a military response to neutralize the danger to their strategic installations. This will probably involve primarily the strengthening of their antitank systems. Attempts may also be made to establish a counterintelligence infrastructure. This activity will be doubtlessly followed by a firm Israeli reaction. It does not matter whether the Israeli satellite is military or scientific, the result is unavoidable: The arms race will reach a new and most dangerous stage.

Naturally, no one objects to the development of Israel's space potential for needs of peace. No one objects to communication, meteorological, or other satellites launched by Israel. The problem, however, is that with tension prevailing in the Middle East and in the absence of any foreseeable solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict, even a scientific satellite could cause a chain reaction liable to shake the security of all the countries in the region, including Israel's.

The time has come to start eliminating the points of confrontation with the Arabs, which place the Jewish state in jeopardy from every aspect.

Vorontsov Meets With Syrian Minister of State

PM2009114488 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] A meeting took place on 15 September between Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, and Nasir Qaddur, Syrian minister of state for foreign affairs, who is in Moscow on his way home.

During the friendly talk, the participants in the meeting held an in depth discussion on questions of the Near East situation.

The sides came out in favor of beginning practical preparations for, and convening, an international conference on the Near East.

Ways to ensure the speediest attainment of a political settlement in Afghanistan on the basis of strict observance of the Geneva agreements on settling the problem by both sides—not only the Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union—were discussed.

The sides welcomed the cease-fire and commencement of talks between Iran and Iraq.

Yu.M. Vorontsov and N. Qaddur epxressed satisfaction at the progressive course of the development of Soviet-Syrian relations.

'I. al-Na'ib, Syrian ambassador to the USSR, was present at the talk.

CPSU Delegation Begins Damascus Visit

PM2109083788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Arrival in Syria"]

[Text] Damascus, 17 Sep—In accordance with the plan for ties between the CPSU and the Syrian Ba'th Party a delegation of CPSU party officials headed by S.A. Osminin, first secretary of the Kirov CPSU Obkom, has arrived in Damascus.

In the course of the visit members of the delegation will exchange party work experience and acquaint themselves with the work of the Ba'th Party in trade union and public organizations.

The Soviet party delegation was met at the airport by Tawfiq Hassun, member of the Ba'th Party Central Committee.

Meets Syrian Party Official

PM2109083988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Exchange of Opinions"]

[Text] Damascus, 18 Sep—'Abdallah al-Ahmar, deputy general secretary of the Ba'th Party, received Saturday [17 September] a visiting delegation of CPSU party workers headed by S.A. Osminin, first secretary of the Kirov CPSU Obkom.

During the conversation, which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere, the deputy general secretary of the Ba'th Party expressed profound satisfaction with multifaceted Soviet-Syrian cooperation and declared Syria's desire for its further development.

'A. al-Ahmar was briefed on the CPSU's practical work to implement the 19th party conference decisions.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Paper Views UK Aid Package for Mozambique

PM2009150988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent B. Pilyatskin report: "Aid and Assistance Promised"]

[Text] Maputo—Geoffrey Howe, British secretary of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs, has concluded a 3-day visit to Maputo.

According to a report in the weekly DOMINGO, an agreement to grant Mozambique aid totaling 1 million pounds sterling, which will be used to purchase road equipment and machinery, was signed as a result of the talks. In addition, the head of the British foreign policy department announced his government's intention to give financial assistance to Mozambique to the tune of 15 million pounds sterling to restore the railroad line in the Limpopo River basin.

The satisfaction Howe expressed with the results is also connected, in the opinion of observers, with the fact that he was visiting Maputo just a few days after the Mozambican-South African summit meeting. As announced here, it opens up opportunities for broad cooperation between the two countries, and M. Thatcher's Conservative government has always opposed the RSA's isolation and the introduction of all-embracing economic sanctions against it. The Johannesburg newspaper THE STAR recently cited these figures: "Some 235 British companies operate in the RSA. Although British investments in the South African economy have been reduced under the impact of world public opinion, they still make up 40 percent of all foreign capital investments in South Africa."

TASS Correspondents Interview ANC Official

LD1309113188 Moscow TASS in English 0825 GMT 13 Sep 88

[Text] Antananarivo September 13 TASS—The steadily developing process of the settlement of the situation in South-West Africa means the failure of the intentions of racist-ruled South Africa to perpetuate its domination over Namibia and the occupation of southern regions of Angola. This was stated here today by Reginald September, member of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, secretary of Political Education Department of the ANC. The developments at the quadripartite talks held by Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States on the situation in the region show that Pretoria cannot win a victory even if it enjoys financial and military support of the United States, that it has to withdraw from Angola and Namibia, he pointed out in an interview with the TASS correspondents Pavel Myltsev and Kirill Strzhizhovskiy.

If the talks bring positive results, one can hope that peace will return to Angolan land, September said.

The apartheid regime has resorted to deception and has failed to fulfil its commitments on more than one occasion, he continued, but this time it found itself in a desperate situation. Pretoria generals have suffered of late, one defeat after another in the fighting against FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] and the People's Liberation Army of Namibia. Military expenditures take up a major part of the budget and undermine South Africa's economy. Many white citizens of the country come to realize the senseless, ruinous and inhuman nature of the war. Thousands of white youths prefer to refuse to be called up and go to prison instead of joining the punitive army of oppressors.

A moral and military defeat is dealing a heavy blow at the prestige of the racist regime in South Africa itself, September pointed out. The authority of the government is weakening, it cannot rule the country. Most members of the white community come to realize that the methods of violence are doomed to failure, that it is necessary to grant genuine rights and freedoms to Africans. The feeling of resistance to the policy of the authorities penetrated even the Dutch Reformist Church regarded as a stronghold of the apartheid system.

Speaking about the state of health of Nelson Mandela, Reginald September emphasized that the ANC leader courageously endured illness and did not give up his struggle against the regime. Powerful support coming from inside the country and from abroad gives him new strength. Church services, demonstrations and rallies of solidarity with Nelson Mandela are held throughout South Africa. Both the continuation of his imprisonment and his release will lead to the growth of anti-racist feelings in the country and to the stepping up of the struggle against apartheid.

East Europe

PRAVDA Reports Solomentsev Visit to Romania

PM2009145788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit by Delegation"]

[Text] A CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee delegation headed by M.S. Solomentsev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, left Moscow for Bucharest 19 September at the invitation of the RCP Central Committee.

The delegation was seen off at the airport by V.M. Chebrikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR KGB; I.S. Gustov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party

Control Committee; R.P. Fedorov, deputy chief of a department of the CPSU Central Committee, and other CPSU Central Committee executives.

The send-off party included I. Bucur, Romanian ambassador to the USSR.

The delegation arrived in Bucharest the same day. The delegation was greeted at the capital's Otopeni Airport by N. Constantin, member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee and chairman of the RCP Central Collegium, and other officials.

The welcoming party included Ye.M. Tyazhelnikov, USSR ambassador to Romania.

During a meeting at the RCP Central Committee M.S. Solomentsev and N. Constantin told each other about the work experience of the two parties' control organs in fulfilling the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the 13th RCP Congress and 5th RCP National Conference respectively.

In the afternoon the Soviet guests visited the central scientific research and design and technological institute of agricultural machinery and equipment in Bucharest. During a meeting with scientists and specialists of the scientific institution note was made of the comprehensive approach to the mechanization of labor-intensive processes in crop cultivation, in particular the Romanian engineers' creation of a whole range of machines distinguished by high efficiency and economy of operation, and it was pointed out that it is necessary to further expand and deepen Soviet-Romanian mutually beneficial ties in the sphere of mechanizing agricultural production.

Further on Visit

LD2009232788 Moscow Televison Service in Russian 1700 GMT 20 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The stay in the Socialist Republic of Romania of a delegation of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee headed by Comrade Solomentsev is continuing.

[Correspondent S. Zheleznyak] The Soviet delegation today visited one of the largest enterprises in the Romanian capital—the heavy machinery production works, (?IMEGB). Virtually the entire gamut of heavy machine building equipment is produced here. Equipment for drilling installations, the construction of gas pipelines, and enterprises of the chemical industry come to the Soviet Union from here. Among the works' clients and partners is the famous Uralmash. For its part, the Soviet Union is making a significant contribution to the equipping of this enterprise. Almost one-fifth of all machine tools operating here were made in the USSR. The guests familiarized themselves with work on a responsible task—the manufacture of equipment for the Cernavoda atomic power station which is being built in Romania.

The delegation of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee met the workers' council of the enterprise. Comrade Solomentsev was interested in how the council monitored the fulfillment of plans and quality of output, the distribution of profits, and how they participated in the solution of social problems. The leader of the Soviet delegation told of the course of restructuring in our country.

The delegation later visited the heavy machine tools and assemblies works. This is now Romania's leading enterprise produce all types of world-class machine tools. More than 30 percent goes for export and the Soviet Union is among its main importers. In conversations with the works' managers and representatives of the workers' council, Comrade Solomentsev noted that despite an accord that had been reached previously on the creation of a joint enterprise capable of designing and producing machine tools equal to the best in the world, this work had unfortunately not yet begun. The reasons hindering the solution of this task and ways to remove them were discussed.

In the afternoon, the Soviet guests laid wreaths at the memorial to Vladimir Ilich Lenin and at the memorial to the Soviet servicemen who had fallen in the struggle to liberate Romania from fascism.

The delegation familiarized itself with the exhibition of agricultural machinery at the Bucharest research institute and visited the Bucharest scientific production institute for grain and industrial crops.

Biryukova Departs for Working Visit to CSSR

Seen Off by Lukyanov

LD1809143988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Text] Comrade Biryukova, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, left for Prague today on a working visit at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee. She was seen off at the airport by Comrade Lukyanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other officials.

Arrives 18 Sep

LD1809173588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Text] Comrade Biryukova, CPSU Central Committee secretary, arrived today in Prague on a working visit at the invitation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee.

Visits Department Stores

LD1909231788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Comrade Biryukova is continuing her working visit to Czechoslovakia:

[S. Andreyev] Today there were meetings and talks in the CPCZ Central Committee, in the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, and in the Prague City Party Committee, and visits to see the work of several major trading firms. These included the Kotva department store. We have described this shop, which concludes contracts directly with enterprises manufacturing output, including those abroad, and not only factories but also trade organizations. The experiment is proceeding successfully, and in all aspects at that—there are three main ones, namely increasing supplies of goods in demand, raising the department store's profits, and stepping up the activity of the firm's employees by means of an efficient wage system.

And this is another department store, the Druzba. There is the same variety of goods on the counters. But this is a cooperative department store; on its four floors are the answer to the question: What can cooperatives produce? [passage omitted] In a word, there is a great deal of experience accumulated over many years, where there are interesting and positive aspects alongside the shortcomings and difficulties. All this must be made use of and taken into account, and, of course, first of all studied. And this is what Aleksandra Pavlovna Biryukova was doing today.

CPSU Delegation Visits CSSR 12-17 Sep

PM2009150588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] A delegation of CPSU party workers headed by N.I. Dementey, secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, visited the CSSR 12-17 September to acquaint itself with experience in the implementation of the CPCZ's cadre policy within the agroindustrial complex.

The delegation was received by F. Pitra, candidate menber of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Polish Party Official Arrives on Visit 19 Sep

PM2009145188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Arrival in Moscow"]

[Text] W. Baka, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, arrived in Moscow 19 September for a working visit at the CPSU Central Committee's invitation.

He was greeted at the airport by N.N. Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The welcoming party included J. Smolinski, Polish charge d'affaires in the USSR.

Slyunkov-Baka Meeting Noted

LD2109003088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2323 GMT 20 Sep 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] On 20 September Comrade Slyunkov and Baka, a member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, held talks in the CPSU Central Committee.

The two discussed closer coordination between the two countries on economic policy, improving the mechanism for cooperation, and active introduction of new progressive forms of cooperation in the interest of developing specialization within sectors and joint production. They also discussed consistently uniting efforts in the area of accelerating scientific and technical progress.

Polish Premier's Resignation Speech Discussed

PM2009115188 Moscow TRUD in Russian 20 Sep 88 p 3

[TASS report: "Polish Sejm Session"]

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Sep—Speaking on behalf of the Sejm Extraordinary Commission to Monitor Implementation of the Second Stage of the Economic Reform, which analyzed the government's exercise of its emergency powers, Commission Chairman K. Jandy-Jendroszka pointed out that this measure has not led to a tangible acceleration of the realization of the provisions for the second stage of the economic reform. The results remain hardly tangible, and the population's impatience is growing. Particularly alarming are the imbalance in the market and the high rate of inflation—which is paralyzing the reform's economic mechanisms and weakening public support for it. The recent disturbances and the harsh manifestations of public displeasure, which are also expressed in the stance of the Polish National Trade Union Accord, she said, are deepening the doubt as to whether the government in its present composition, which has lost public confidence to a considerable extent, can effectively continue the process of implementing reforms without the necessary public support.

The commission expressed the opinion that it is necessary to make profound changes in the government's composition, increase the participation of coalition forces in it, and also include in its composition competent specialists in various sectors of the economy.

Z. Messner, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, who spoke next, assessed the situation in the country, saying that the public disturbances have not only increased sharp criticism of the authorities but also distinctly laid bare the scale of the unhealthy phenomena and the possibility of a new crisis. The August strikes did direct harm to Poland in excess of Z50 billion. The government did not resort to radical means to end the strikes, since it is possible to remove outward manifestations by force but not the causes of the crisis. However, political methods of regulating tension cannot signify tolerance of lawlessness.

The government, the chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers continued, does not dispute the weaknesses in the country's economy singled out by the commission: the inflation phenomena, the structure of investments, and the excessive monopolization of production. The general aim of the government's policy was to create the foundations of a modern economy subject to tough economic laws, and no one can deny the definite progress made here. But the government has suffered defeat in carrying out the prices and incomes operation, and this has worsened the state of the market.

The goals and strategy of the second stage of the economic reform remain immutable. At the same time, it is necessary to reassess the targets of the economic policy, the operating methods, and the sequence of the measures being taken.

Guided by the state's supreme interests and by the intention to make it easier for the Sejm to make the necessary decisions in this situation, I announce the resignation of the Council of Ministers, Z. Messner declared.

Polish Sejm Issues Resolution on Reform

LD2009145188 Moscow TASS in English 1130 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw September 20 TASS—Speeding up drastically the economic reform and attaining the social goals set is the mandatory and objective demand in Poland today, stresses a resolution on the current socio-economic situation in the country, which was adopted by the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic.

Serious difficulties have emerged in the way of these transformations last year. Despite good statistical indicators in industrial production and in foreign trade, the mechanism of the reform was paralyzed instead of the new economic levers gaining in strength. In spite of the expected decisive actions in the name of the sweeping reform of the economy, a multitude of new snags surfaced, public trust in the measures carried out within the framework of the reform has dwindled. The combination of the high pace in price (?hikes) and the increasingly severe shortage of goods increased the population's discontent. (?The Sejm noted) that in the situation where complex problems mushroomed, the government used inadequately the extraordinary powers vested with it. The setbacks of the last period should by no means hamstring the will and actions [words indistinct] of the reform. The Sejm considers a comprehensive activity to restore the stability of the economy to be of particular importance today.

It is essential to stake on everything that serves a genuine recovery of the economy and the state, the resolution says. All kinds of threats and attempts to break public tranquility, law, order and the (?rhythm of work) incontestably run counter to this objective. Their consequences would have been the gravest for the population and the national economy as well as for the cause of the reform and national concord.

The Sejm stated that the success of the reform (?hinged) also on changes in the power wielding mechanism. The principle of the responsiblity of senior cadres of the state administration for handling the difficult problems of the country by agreement and national dialogue, by drawing all forces favouring the reforms.

The Sejm voted overwhelmingly to meet the request of Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner, chairman of the Council of Ministers, to accept the resignation of the government. The Council of Ministers in its present composition was instructed to fulfil its obligations until a new cabinet is formed.

Honecker To Visit Moscow End of Sep

LD2009133788 Moscow TASS in English 1328 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic, will pay a working visit to the USSR in the end of September at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, it was announced officially here.

Slyunkov Visits Moscow Exhibition in GDR

PM2009104588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Friendship Is the Basis of Common Efforts"]

[Text] The biggest showing in our country of the latest achievements of the GDR's science and technology has begun at the USSR Exhibition of National Economic Achievements. The opening ceremony of the national exhibition "The GDR in Moscow" opened here 16 September.

N.N. SLyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; and A.K. Antonov, I.S. Belousov, and I.S. Silayev, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers, took part in the opening ceremony.

On behalf of the Soviet foreign trade organizations V.L. Malkevich, chairman of the USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry Presidium, congratulated the friends from the GDR and wished the showing success.

The floor was given to K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations.

The GDR national exhibition which opens today, he said, is an important event in relations between our fraternal countries. Its political importance has been emphasized by the greetings from Comrade Honecker and Comrade Gorbachev to those taking part in the exhibition. The leaders of our party and the Soviet Government noted that there are not many countries in the world which have a cooperation as deep, diverse, and dynamic, as that between the USSR and the GDR.

The exhibition organizers' designs are broad and realistic because they are based on substantial results achieved as a whole throughout the history of the republic's existence and in recent years. In this connection your experience in pooling science and production, making rational use of material and manpower resources, and widely introducing the successes of scientific and technical progress deserves praise.

The exhibition opens new opportunities in the assimilation of new types of output on the basis of the formation of stable economic collaboration, the intensification of production specialization and sharing, and the consolidation of direct ties between our countries' enterprises and organizations and above all in sectors that determine scientific and technical progress. Favorable conditions for all this have been created on the Soviet side by the reform of foreign economic relations which is being implemented.

The speaker continued: We note with satisfaction the all-around development of our trade and economic relations with the GDR and their dynamism. The GDR is the Soviet Union's biggest partner in trade and economic cooperation.

Then G. Beil, GDR minister of foreign trade, spoke.

The successful implementation of the historic peace initiative of the Soviet Union and the joint efforts of the fraternal socialist countries for disarmament and the easing of tension in Europe, he noted, is at the same time a very important prerequisite for the implementation of our common plans in the economic field. We are working purposefully together to instill life into the accords between our fraternal parties' general secretaries in the development of a qualitatively new level of economic and scientific and technical cooperation—accords which determine our path—he noted.

At the exhibition 150 combines and 38 foreign trade organizations of the GDR are presenting their production achievements. Over 1,000 of their representatives have traveled to Moscow.

The minister thanked the Soviet collectives and working people who by their active participation and enterprising work had ensured remarkable conditions for the GDR combines and enterprises to organize the exhibition.

There was a viewing of the exhibition, whose sections reflect the most important achievements in the GDR's machine building, microelectronics, transport, food, and other industries.

After viewing the exhibition N.N. Slyunkov made an entry in the Honored Visitors' Book.

Katushev Meets Beil

LD1709035988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0800 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 16 Sep (ADN)—GDR Foreign Trade Minister Dr Gerhard Beil met with Konstantin Katushev, USSR Foreign Economic Relations Minister, for talks on developing foreign trade in 1988 and exports and imports in 1989.

Proceeding from the wide-ranging commercial agreements between the two countries' foreign trade organizations following the 1988 Leipzig trade fair, the two sides noted that there are good conditions for speedy negotiations on the conclusion of a trade protocol for 1989. They agreed on specific measures for this.

Minister Katushev expressed his certainty that the GDR exhibition opening in Moscow today will strongly promote the development of long-term economic relations.

MTI Cited on Israeli Premier's Trip to Hungary

PM2009125588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Opinions"]

[Text] Budapest, 16 Sep—Israeli Prime Minister Y. Shamir has been in Hungary on a private visit. MTI agency reports that he met with leaders of the Hungarian Government: K. Grosz, chairman of the Council of Ministers; J. Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of trade; and Foreign Minister P. Varkonyi. Hungarian-Israeli relations were discussed during the talk.

West Europe

Vorotnikov Leaves for Visit to Duesseldorf

Seen Off by Slyunkov

LD2109081388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Comrade Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, left Moscow for a visit to Duesseldorf today at the invitation of the government of North Rhine-Westphalia in the FRG. The visit is taking place within the framework of partnership ties between that Land and the Russian Federation.

He was seen off at the airport by Comrade Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other officials.

Arrives in Duesseldorf

LD2109104188 Moscow TASS in English 1011 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Duesseldorf September 21 TASS—Vitaliy Vorotnikov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, arrived on a visit in West Germany today. He was invited by the government of North Rhine-Westphalia with which the Russian Federation maintains partner ties.

During the visit Vorotnikov will confer with Helmut Kohl, West German chancellor, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, foreign minister, and other politicians.

At Duesseldorf airport the guest was met by Johannes Rau, minister-president of North Rhine-Westphalia.

Yuliy Kvitsinskiy, ambassador of the USSR to West Germany, was among the welcoming party.

Gorbachev Book Awarded Italian Literary Prize

PM2009151588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "'A Work of Outstanding Importance'"]

[Text] Palermo (Sicily), 18 Sep—The jury of the "Mondello" International Literary Prize awarded the "Jury's Special Prize" to M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, for his book "Restructuring and New Thinking for Our Country and the Whole World." The citation of the jury, which consists of well known Italian and foreign writers and literary critics, says that the Soviet leader's book is "a work of outstanding importance" and the prize itself is awarded for "publicizing in East and West the phenomenon of restructuring and the ideas of peace and disarmament."

The festive ceremony to mark the conferment of the prize, held in Palermo, the administrative center of Sicily, was attended by local authority leaders, eminent politicians, and representatives of democratic parties and the Italian public. They noted in their speeches that M.S. Gorbachev's activity, aimed at reaching agreements with the United States on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, resulted specifically in the decision to eliminate U.S. cruise missiles at Comiso Base in Sicily.

Accepting the prize, CPSU Central Committee member G.M. Korniyenko said: "M.S. Gorbachev instructed me to express heartfelt gratitude for your decision and to accept this important award on his behalf."

Francesco Lentini, chairman of the "Mondello" Prize jury, said in a conversation with a TASS correspondent: "It was no accident that M.S. Gorbachev's book was judged the most popular book this year. The peacemaking ideas of humanism and progress along the path to a nonviolent world and elimination of nuclear weapons contained in it are backed by representatives of the most diverse political movements and parties."

Rogachev Meets French Foreign Ministry Official

PM2009114888 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, received C. Martin, director of the French Foreign Ministry Asia and Oceania Department, on 16 September and had a talk with him.

There was an exchange of opinions on the situation in the Asian and Pacific region, as well as on certain items on the agenda for the forthcoming 43d UN General Assembly session. Great attention was devoted to a discussion of the prospects for resolving the conflict situation over Cambodia by political means.

CPSU-SPD Working Group Confers in Moscow

PM2009160388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "The First Meeting of the Working Group"]

[Text] In accordance with an existing agreement between the leaderships of the CPSU and the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD], the first meeting of the CPSU-SPD working group on questions of building a "common European home" was held at the CPSU Central Committee 16-17 September.

Wide-ranging questions pertaining to the deepening of the all-European process in the political, economic, cultural, and humanitarian sphere were discussed. Both sides expressed a desire to create a qualitatively new type of relations between states and peoples in Europe which would be in keeping with the principles of peace, trust, security, and broad, mutually advantageous cooperation.

The meeting of the working group was attended on the CPSU side by A.F. Dobrynin (leader), secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; V.V. Zagladin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; Yu.I. Zuyev, deputy chief of the International Department; V.V. Zhurkin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Europe Institute; senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee N.A. Kovalskiy, V.S. Rykin, V.K. Sobakin, and V.P. Starodubov; and on the SPD side by E. Bahr (leader), member of the SPD Presidium; members of the SPD Board K. Voigt and K. Fuchs; Bundestag Deputies G. Erler and E. Horn; and W. Wimmer, senior official of the SPD Board.

It was agreed that the group should continue its work on the problem discussed.

Briefs

Soviet-Italian Enterprise

Moscow, 8 Sep (TASS)—The Soviet Copyright Agency (SCA) and the Italian "Fininvest" concern have reached an agreement on setting up a joint enterprise. "We intend to pool our resources in the production of films, audio-visual aids, and the publication of works by Soviet authors in Italy," a TASS correspondent was told by Renato Polimeni, "Fininvest's" foreign relations director. He said that the enterprise's headquarters is to be located in Moscow. It will also have a representation in Italy. The SCA is expanding cooperation with Italian firms. In May this Soviet agency reached an agreement with the "Fata" firm on the staging in Italy of the exhibition "The USSR: Society, Culture, Restructuring," which will be the most representative Soviet exposition from those produced there in recent years. [Excerpt] [*LD1509051488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1725 GMT 8 Sep 88*]

Television Protocol With Sweden

Stockholm, 12 Sep (TASS)— A working protocol was signed in Stockholm today on exchanges between the USSR State Television and Radio Broadcasting Committee and Swedish Television for 1988-89. This provides for exchange of topical television programs on major events in the life of the USSR and Sweden, and information on the development of culture, science, technical progress, and sports. The sides are ready to interact in holding television bridges on problems of interest for television viewers of both countries. Cooperation will be continued on preparation of joint musical programs. USSR Gosteleradio will assist Swedish Television in filming material on international cooperation in the sphere of space research and the solution of ecological problems. The sides will take part in international television film festivals held in Moscow and Stockholm. The protocol was signed by V.I. Popov, deputy chairman of USSR Gosteleradio, and Sam Nilsson, executive director of Swedish Television. [Text] [*LD1509062288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1935 GMT 12 Sep 88*]

New Turkish Envoy

Moscow September 19 TASS—First Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR Yuliy Vorontsov today received Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to the USSR Volkan Vural in connection with the forthcoming presentation of his credentials. [Text] [*LD2009005588 Moscow TASS in English 1925 GMT 19 Sep 88*]

Latin America & Caribbean

Cuban Official on Visiting UN Rights Mission

PM2109095588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Undated Havana dispatch by own correspondent A. Kamorin under the rubric "On the Question of Human Rights": "Group of Observers Invited"]

[Text] Havana—From year to year the enemies of the Cuban revolution have been trying to undermine the Republic's position at any price. Recently the Washington "hawks" have focused their attacks on one of the most delicate spheres of international relations: the question of observing human rights.

The significance which the United States is attaching to this front of the propaganda war against Cuba is demonstrated by the fact that the ex-terrorist Armando Valladares represented Washington's interests at the last session of the UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva. The world community commission spurned attacks on the island of freedom's policy. But in order to dispel all doubts, the Cuban Government invited an influential group of observers to visit the country.

A delegation from the UN Commission on Human Rights arrived in Havana 16 September. This is what Raul Roa Kouri, Cuban deputy foreign minister, said about the course of its work:

Proceeding from the interests of establishing the truth, we are glad that the composition of the group of observers which is visiting us is broad and influential. A. Sene, chairman of the UN Commission on Human Rights, leads the delegation. It also includes representatives from Nigeria, Colombia, the Philippines, Bulgaria, and Ireland. I would like to draw attention to one subtle point: According to commission decision number 106/88, in this case it is a question of a mission of observers and not of an investigation commission, as certain Western information organs are trying to present the work.

The program of the visit suggested by the delegation members and agreed upon by Cuba is quite packed. First it was proposed that this trip would last for 5 days, but they will have to spend twice as long here. Conversations have been planned between mission participants and leading workers of the Cuban Communist Party and our government, government members, and members of mass public organizations. The delegation's circle of contacts will not be confined to Havana: Both in the capital and in the provinces its members will visit hospitals, prisons, and religious communities. Regular meetings with citizens and representatives of nongovernment organizations will become an important part of the work. The Havana department of the UN Development Program has taken on the coordination of this activity. In August all our newspapers published a report on the mission's arrival and gave readers the telephone number of the UN Development Program department through which all those who wish can state their intention to talk with delegation members face to face. In short, we tried to do everything possible so that our guests could form a full and impartial impression about how citizens' civil, personal, economic and social rights are being observed in Cuba.

All that can be added to what Raul Roa Kouri said is the circumstance that the mission's results will only become known at the next session of the UN Commission in Geneva, so the delegation will work in conditions of strict confidentiality.

During his meeting with journalists at Havana Airport, A. Sene, the head of the delegation, confined himself to expressing his confidence that the invitation received from the Cuban Government "will serve to strengthen international cooperation in observing human rights and consequently strengthen the climate of mutual respect in relations between states."

Brutents, CPSU Delegation Visit Panama

PM2009150188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Opinions"]

[Text] Panama City, 19 Sep—A CPSU delegation headed by K.N. Brutents, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, visited here 15 through 18 September at the invitation of the leadership of the People's Party of Panama [PPP].

Conversations with Ruben Dario Sousa, secretary general of the PPP Central Committee, and members of the PPP Central Committee Politburo passed in a friendly atmosphere. During the conversations, the CPSU representatives and the Panamanian Communists told each other about their parties' activity and exchanged opinions on questions of the international situation. The mutual striving to further develop and strengthen the relations of friendship and cooperation between the CPSU and the PPP was confirmed.

The CPSU delegation met with members of the National Executive Committee and the Political Commission of the ruling Democratic Revolutionary Party. There were meetings with the leadership of the Panamanian working people's national trade union center.

The CPSU delegation left Panama today. It was seen off at Omar Torrijos International Airport by Ruben Dario Sousa and members of the Panamanian communist party's leadership.

Noriega Cited on U.S. Aims in Latin America

PA2009001988 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 2339 GMT 19 Sep 88

["Excerpt" of statements by Panamanian General Manuel Antonio Noriega during interview by "Soviet television"; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] It is important that the Soviet people know the reality and truth about Panama. We are a very small nation of only 2 million inhabitants, a peaceful nation, but with great strategic position. Panama is geographically placed where the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans converge through the Canal.

The Panama Canal was realized by the United States, and that is how the military bases were established. They are strategic bases for that power to control the Latin American world. Behind all this there exists the U.S. desire to remain in our territory with a military force superior to ours to control all the countries below the Rio Grande.

Soviet-Brazilian Trade Commission Meets

PM2009114688 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] The 11th session of the Soviet-Brazilian intergovernmental commission on trade, economic, scientific, and technical cooperation was held in Moscow 12-16 September.

The Soviet delegation was headed by V.N. Burmistrov, USSR deputy minister of foreign economic relations, and the Brazilian delegation by Luis Felipe Lampreia, Brazilian deputy foreign minister.

The head of the Brazilian delegation was received by K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, and A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR deputy foreign minister.

Political & Social

Further on Armenian-Azeri Unrest, Clashes

Karabakh Committee 'Demands'

PM2009115788 London DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 20 Sep 88 p 11

[Ian Smiley dispatch: "Armenia Charter Poses Challenge for Gorbachev"]

[Text] Yerevan—The Karabakh committee, a group of 11 scholars, which has become the real voice of the Soviet Armenian people, has drawn up a charter of national demands. It will be seen as a major challenge to the Kremlin.

The draft document, so far unpublished but shown to the DAILY TELEGRAPH at the weekend calls for the "deepening of sovereignty" of Armenia within the Soviet Union, but stops short of a demand for outright independence.

Committee members clearly do not rule out full independence in the distant future. However they seek to avoid a premature confrontation with Moscow.

The members also disclosed that the committee might itself be dissolved, handing authority to a broader, more formally structured national movement, which would inevitably come close to becoming a democratic alternative to the ruling Communist Party.

But the members, nine of whom were interviewed by the DAILY TELEGRAPH, were at pains to insist that they were a pressure group and not "professional politicians" or a fledgling opposition party.

Change in Constitution [subhead]

"We don't want to harm Mr Gorbachev or perestroyka," one member said.

But they felt that his refusal so far to heed their demands, especially over the disputed Nagorno-Karabakh region, cast doubt on the sincerity of the Soviet leader's commitment to democracy.

Their charter's first aim—the rapid transfer of Armenian-populated Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia—would almost certainly require a change in the Constitution, which even Armenian Communist Party members demand.

"The Constitution is a beautiful tree on which grows dead and poisonous fruit," said Mr Zori Balayan, a party member and leading writer from Karabakh, who is not a Karabakh committee member.

But other demands by the committee have far more radical implications.

Greater Sovereignty [subhead]

Their charter calls for:

Greater sovereignty, especially in economic and cultural affairs, which would be bound to weaken control by Moscow.

More democracy, with non-party candidates, especially from the movement which could spring out of the Karabakh committee, standing for elections next year to soviets at all levels.

Armenians to do their military service exclusively in Armenian units.

Armenia to have its own consular service, without reference to Moscow, thus enabling the three million Armenians in the republic, plus another million in other parts of the Soviet Union, to tighten links with the three million Armenians abroad.

New laws to enforce more Armenian language teaching in all schools attended by Armenians. At present, many children learn their native tongue in school for only two hours a week.

The general "de-Russification" of the administration, including the removal of the Armenian Communist Party's near-statutory Russian number two, who is seen as a "colonial governor".

Stringent anti-pollution laws, and the immediate closure of the nuclear power station near Yerevan and the city's huge rubber plant.

Soviet help in international forums, including the United Nations, to force a general acknowledgment of Turkish guilt for genocide in 1915, with a national day of mourning to mark the event on April 24.

Recognition of the achievements of the independent Armenian state of 1918-20, officially condemned as a "bourgeois dictatorship" rightly overthrown by the Bolsheviks, plus the legislation of that state's flag.

A revival of the Church, which has never fully recovered from its near-elimination under Stalin.

The awkwardness for Mr Gorbachev is that if the charter were to be even partially put into practice under the influence of the new movement, the authority of the Communist Party, already feeble in Armenia, could wane still further.

A committee member said: "In the old days, the Soviet Union's republics had to promise loyalty to the central authority. But now it's the central authority which has to prove loyalty to the republics."

Although they play down the possibility of their movement becoming an opposition, and stress that it is not one of the charter's aims, another member said: "It is natural that political parties should freely be formed."

They also stress that they are acting constitutionally, although the government, while so far taking no repressive action against it, says that the Karabakh committee no longer legally exists.

The members all said they would support any democratic attempt by the Soviet Baltic states—with whose national movements they have growing links—to seek full independence.

Mentality of Slavery [subhead]

If Mr Gorbachev hands Karabakh over to Armenia, one said, "it will be proof that the Soviet Union is a union of free Soviet republics".

Another said optimistically: "There would then be no need to go to the threshold of considering independence."

But if not, "then we'll need to contemplate the future".

Although cautiously denying any immediate secessionist intent, most committee members say that eventual independence, and even United Nations membership, cannot be ruled out.

"All peoples have a right to dream of living independently, otherwise they would be condemned to a mentality of slavery," said one.

'Corrupt Mafia' [subhead]

They said that although Armenians did fear Turkey, and had historically looked for Russian protection, the fear was grossly exaggerated by the Soviet propaganda machine.

In the short term, the power of the independent movement is sure to undermine the Armenian Communist Party, which faces the strongest challenge of its 68-year role. It is already described as "inert", even by its own members.

As one Karabakh committee member, until recently himself a party member, put it: "Not one member of the Armenian Communist Party really believes (in communism). Marxism-Leninism is a religion, and they have to say they believe in it just to receive their pay cheques."

Another member said: "We are against the party nomenclatura, which is a kind of Mafia—very corrupt. But we do not fight the party itself."

The oldest committee member, Professor Raphael Gazaryan, 64, is a respected physicist and a member of the Academy of Sciences.

The others are: Babken Ararktyan, 43, mathematician, Communist Party member; Ambartsum Galastyan, 33, ethnographer; Samson Gazaryan, 35, teacher; Samvel Gevorkyan, 40, journalist; Aleksandr Hakopyan, 33, medieval oriental historian; Ashot Manucharyan, 34, teacher, ex-party member; Vazgen Manukyan, 43, mathematician; Vano Siradegyan, 42, writer; Levon Ter-Petrosyan, 42, philologist of Assyrian; and David Vartanyan, 38, physicist.

Report on Clashes Published

NC2009175388 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0425 GMT 20 Sep 88

[From the SOVETAKAN AYASTAN press review]

[Text] A TASS report entitled "The Incidents in Nagorno-Karabakh" has been published in the newspaper. On 18 September, the report says, a meeting was held in Stepanakert, approved by the country's and city's organs. During the meeting the participants expressed the public's concern about the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region and their desire for normalizing the situation.

Some time later the rally was interrupted by clashes between the Armenian and Azerbaijani population on interethnic grounds in the village of Khodzhayly, near Stepanakert.

When many of the participants in the rally went to the village, firearms and sidearms were used by both sides in widescale fighting. As a result, 25 people received injuries of varying severity, and 17 were hospitalized. Both Armenians and Azerbaijanis sought medical assistance.

Party Appeals for Calm

NC2009175988 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0425 GMT 20 Sep 88

[From the SOVETAKAN AYASTAN press review]

[Text] The newspaper has published an appeal by the Nagorno-Karabakh party obkom bureau and by the ispolkom of the Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast Soviet of Peoples' Deputies to Communists and to all workers of the oblast. The appeal says:

Dear Karabakh residents: We believe in your rationality, firmness, and reason. We appeal to you again and again to display calmness and wisdom. It is the duty of each of us to return the oblast to a normal rhythm of life and work.

Vezirov Delivers Report

LD2009122288 Moscow TASS in English 1203 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Baku September 20 TASS—Azerbaijan's leading party activists, government officials and economic executives held a meeting in Baku, capital of this Soviet Transcaucasian republic.

A report on the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region was delivered by Abdul-Rahman Vezirov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan.

He dwelt in detail on the anti-social actions that have taken place in the autonomous region lately, stressed the need to step up work among the population and adopt decisive measures for preventing interethnic clashes and strengthening law and order, and briefed the meeting on measures to bring the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh back to normal.

Later in the day members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan and other leading party workers, government officials and economic managers went to factories, institutions of learning and organizations in Baku to speak there on this issue.

Azerbaijan Officials Cited

LD2009203288 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] A meeting of the party economic activ was held in (?Shaki) today. Gadi Radzhabov, first secretary of (?Shaki) town party committee, opened the meeting with an introductory speech. Svetlana Kasumova, secretary of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee, gave a report on the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and talked about measures being taken to restore the suituation to normal. Today Svetlana Kasumova also visited [name indistinct] Kolkhoz, the Lenin Kolkhoz, and Internationalist School No 9, to meet with (?students). During the meeting a number of concrete (?requests) concerning questions on economic and social development in the rayon were put forth.

Situation 'Markedly Aggravated'

LD2009184588 Moscow TASS in English 1745 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Stepanakert September 20 TASS—As has already been reported, the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region over recent days has been markedly aggravated and there have been clashes between Armenians and Azerbaijanians that have led to grave consequences.

Party organizations and governing councils in Azerbaijan and Armenia, worker collectives and the public are seeking to prevent a further exacerbation of the situation. The working class and farmers, showing a keen sense of responsibility and self-control, ensure normal industrial, transportation and farming operations.

Nonetheless, irresponsible elements, first of all those in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region, keep working up tension, provoking disorders and resorting to arson and other illegal activities.

A number of rallies took place in Yerevan, where inflammatory appeals were voiced. Similar appeals were made in some populated localities in Azerbaijan as well.

The anti-social manifestations have given well-justified concern and anxiety to many people in both republics. Party bodies and governing councils are receiving numerous addresses and requests from working people for decisive measures to ensure public security, put an end to the outrages and stop the actions of irresponsible persons threatening the normal life of the population.

The people are demanding that law and order be enforced everywhere.

Law-enforcement services along with the public are taking the necessary measures.

Houses Burned; Troops Dig In

AU2109104888 Paris AFP in English 1034 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Sophie Shihab report]

[Text] Moscow, Sept 21 (AFP)—A general strike and inter-ethnic violence continued Wednesday in the disputed Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region as Soviet troops reinforced their positions in Stepanakert, the region's main city, Armenian sources said.

The sources, contacted by telephone from Moscow, added that partial work stoppages were also continuing in Yerevan, the capital of the Armenian Republic, and added that the troops had strengthened positions surrounding Stepanakert.

A local official said that Armenian protesters were continuing to burn houses abandoned by Azeris following violent inter-ethnic clashes on Sunday which left one Armenian dead and 25 people injured, according to official reports.

The official added that in Shusha, a city in Nagorno-Karabakh inhabited by some 12,000 Azeris, homes abandoned by Armenians had been burned.

The unrest in the region is the latest in a series of prolonged strikes and clashes between Armenians and Azeris, and Armenian militants have renewed their demands that Nagorno-Karabakh be removed from Azerbaijan administration and annexed to the Armenian republic.

The disputed region, which is inhabited mostly by ethnic Armenians, was placed under Azerbaijani control in 1923.

In July, a wave of paralyzing strikes and demonstrations both in Nagorno-Karabakh and in Yerevan were ended after the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet rejected any change in the territory's boundaries but agreed to fund development and professional training projects in the region.

The official said that dozens of protesters were continuing a sit-in in the streets of Stepanakert, but added that no arrests had yet been made and no curfew was in force in the city.

On Tuesday, the Soviet news agency TASS reported that "illegal" acts committed by "irresponsible" people had taken place in the region, but made no mention of the strikes.

According to reports by the unofficial ARMENPRES news agency, mass demonstrations continued in Yerevan on Tuesday and Wednesday, with protesters repeating calls for the reincorporation of Nagorno-Karabakh into Armenia and demanding a special session of the local parliament to address the problem.

Strikes in Yerevan which began on Friday were being observed by 65 per cent of the businesses in the city, a source there said, adding that no troops had been seen in Yerevan.

On Monday, the first secretay of the Armenian Communist Party received a delegation representing the Karabakh committee, a group of 11 intellectuals who have been organizing protests in the region since February.

Sources in Yerevan said that the delegation had been handed a "personal message" from Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev asking them to curtail the protests.

Unrest in the region began in February when 32 people, most of them Armenians, were killed during inter-ethnic clashes in the Azerbaijan city of Sumgait.

Vezirov Article on Baku Commissars Published

PM2109100988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Sep 88 Second Edition p 3

[Article by A. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee: "Lessons of the Commune. On the 70th Anniversary of the Death of the 26 Baku Commissars"]

[Excerpts] Baku—We go back to our roots over and over again, deriving strength and wisdom from Bolshevik Leninists and learning party principledness and devotion to the ideals of Communism. The lessons of the Baku commune are of great value. The lessons of class staunchness, democratism, proletarian internationalism, high morality, and nobility. [passage omitted]

Another lesson bequeathed to us is the true internationalism of the Baku commissars and their comrades-in-arms. They persistently combated any attempts to direct working people along the path of national isolation and to kindle interethnic dissension. Only solidarity and joint struggle involving peoples of different nationalities can bring victory. They did everything to achieve this goal. Thus, the experience of boldly implementing a nationalities policy in a region inhabited by dozens of peoples took shape.

The Baku communards symbolized the indestructible internationalist unity of proletarian Baku and the entire Trancaucasus. They passionately advocated the strengthening of the friendship between the Azerbaijani, Georgian, and Armenian peoples and their fraternal union with the great Russian people and with all the country's peoples. Sergo Ordzhonikidze's words ring out in condemnation of people who endeavor to kindle dissension and set the fraternal peoples at loggerheads. The leaders of the Baku proletariat did not make distinctions between working people on grounds of nationality, he said. "Let the graves of Stepan, Alesha, Vanya, and Meshadi-Bek reproach and curse people who would betray even for a single second the great cause of national peace and solidarity among the working masses of the Transcaucasus."

Grasping the lessons of the Baku commune, we once again comprehend the vital energy and the truth of the principles of proletarian internationalism implemented by the commissars. The internationalist traditions of Azerbaijan's party organization and the need to enrich their substance in the spirit of the demands of the strategy of revolutionary renewal and the best internationalist education have assumed particular significance in connection with events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh.

The appeal by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the working people and the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution of 18 July this year indicate ways to remove the obstacles that have accumulated in interethnic relations and to consolidate internationalist principles. It is the task and duty of the Azerbaijan party organization to take steps to implement the tasks determined in these documents designed to normalize the situation in the region, consolidate the friendship and fraternity of the peoples, and educate working people in the spirit of internationalism. We will be steadily guided by the ideas of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. It is the patriotic duty of every citizen and every Communist to cherish and multiply everything that helps unite Soviet society as the basis for the free development and prosperity of all the USSR's peoples and in order to strengthen the might of our common fatherland. [passage omitted]

Voskanyan Attends 14 Sep Opera Square Meeting

NC1709074388 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] A number of leading workers of the republic have met with residents of Yerevan at the Opera Square. G. M. Voskanyan, chairman of the Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, and other officials answered various questions from workers. Discussions were held on the meaning of the 18 July decision by the USSR Supreme Soviet on Nagorno-Karabakh. The incidents at Zvartnots Airport and in the Masis region were recalled, and various problems pertaining to the republic's ecological situation, the atmomic power plant, and the Nairi scientific-industrial union were discussed.

Azerbaijani, Turkmenian Party Leaders Meet

LD1609165288 Moscow TASS in English 1407 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 16 TASS—The first secretaries of the Communist Parties of two Soviet republics, Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov of Azerbaijan (Transcaucasia) and Saparmurad Niyazov of Turkmenia (Central Asia), held a meeting in Krasnovodsk today.

They discussed measures to invigorate economic and cultural relations and consolidate internationalist unity of the working people in the two Soviet republics.

The meeting's participants exchanged information on the effort to transforming the life of society.

Pro-Restructuring Lithuanian Group Praised

LD2009090388 Moscow TASS in English 0826 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Vilnius September 20—By ELTA correspondent Saliamonas Vaintraubas:

The perestroyka reform drive is gathering momentum and gaining in scope in Lithuania and part of the credit for this should definitely go to the public. It has been actively involved in discussing and making decisions on practically all the matters of importance in this republic and thus helped further the process of renewal.

The role of the public has been noted also by the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania at a recent meeting, according to local press reports.

It pointed to increasing popular influence on the state of things in the republic and summed it up as a direct result of the 19th national party conference, with its spirit of openness and critical and yet constructive attitudes.

The increased civic activity of Lithuanians can be seen on the example of their informal associations, most notably the Sajudis Movement for Perestroyka formed last June.

The movement has an own publication, SAJUDZIO ZINIOS (SAJUDIS NEWS), and aims to assist the party and authorities with realizing the ideas of perestroyka and overcoming the phenomena of stagnation.

The movement is led by an initiative group consisting of scientists, authors, journalists and cultural personalities known in the USSR.

Public meetings with delegates to the 19th party conference and Lithuania's leaders, which have been arranged by SAJUDIS, have seen some very heated discussions on the need to enhance the republic's sovereignty, develop Lithuanian culture and take more energetic action to solve issues of ecology and social justice.

Sajudis is one way how people in Lithuania practically exercise their right to share in running the affairs of their republic. It is not accidental that the movement's representatives have been included on various commissions on perestroyka, which function at the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, the Supreme Soviet (parliament) and the Council of Ministers of this Baltic republic.

Quite a few important decisions have already been taken on the movement's initiative. It is Sajudis, for example, that has proposed official recognition for Lithuanian national symbols and heraldry such as the state flag and emblems, and the suggestion has been accepted.

Ideas coming from the public are being given a careful study at top party and government bodies, speakers noted at the meeting of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania. They stressed that all the movement's steps towards promoting perestroyka will be supported in the future as well.

There was also concern expressed at the meeting, however, over the fact that some Sajudis representatives have been making contact with extremists fomenting separatist sentiments, wrongly interpreting some aspects of Lithuania's history and seeking to hush up the fact that perestroyka in the country has been launched and is proceeding on the initiative of the Communist Party.

Yeltsin Comments on Mistakes, Reform Opponents

AU2009120588 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 20 Sep 88 p 3

[Interview with Boris Yeltsin, deputy construction minister and "former Moscow party chief," by Melita Sunjic in Moscow: "On the Subway and the Mafia in Moscow"; date not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] In his first interview for foreign newspapers in the past 6 months, former Moscow party chief Boris Yeltsin, who has fallen from grace, again relentlessly criticizes the mistakes and the opponents of the reform policy of restructuring. Yeltsin is considered a reformist hothead and was therefore relegated to the office of deputy construction minister last November. In May he made headlines by calling on CPSU chief ideologist Ligachev to resign.

"How do you assess the successes that have been achieved to date in the Soviet reform policy of restructuring from the distance that you have gained by now?" is the first question. Yeltsin makes one thing clear immediately: He is not at a distance from the Kremlin, he is still right in the middle of political events. However, his simple office with the empty shelves seems to tell another tale.

"The situation has become difficult," Yeltsin says, "the first euphoria is now gone. The past years have been a stage in which the political, social, economic, and humanitarian changes had to be planned. Documents and programs for the period through the year 2000 have been prepared. During this phase very great importance has been accorded to the question of how the people would receive this fact. Therefore, glasnost was the beginning. After a certain interval it was followed by the economic reform and the democratization—the latter already had less speed.

"Glasnost has aroused the people's interest in politics and society, it has awakened them from their apathy."

Mistakes Have Been Made [subhead]

During the first phase of restructuring one was not armed against mistakes, neither against tactical nor strategic mistakes. "Mistakes have been made and still are made."

"At the beginning, the people took restructuring literally. But when they were tired of talking and of the new terminology, they expected specific, real deeds. However, there have been fewer deeds than words!"

He does not want to say that disappointment has spread; the politician qualifies his statements. The mood is different in the various parts of the country. In regions where the reforms have been successful, the mood is also more positive, "but I do not deny that in some areas the people have already lost hope."

"You said that practical mistakes have been made in pursuing the goals of restructuring. Which kind of mistakes?" Yeltsin is asked.

"In this respect, my view is probably subjective," Yeltsin cautions, and then, after thinking things over and considering carefully every phrase he uses, he answers slowly: "I think that the period of drawing up the programs should have been shorter. Then the people's belief and realism would be stronger. In particular, there should be plans about how to improve the supplies of consumer goods and services. For this purpose, one has to provide a maximum amount of material, financial, and human resources." Yeltsin thinks that this is the only way to instill into the people an unshakable belief in restructuring. "A 50-year-old person is not interested in what he or she will be able to buy in the year 2000."

Opposition [subhead]

Yeltsin does not permit the question of whether the opponents of restructuring are now acting in a more concentrated fashion in order to prevent the reform in this form. "I do not agree with the phrasing of your question, according to which the opponents of restructuring have united in groups and are now practically forming a clearly outlined, independent camp. This is not the case. Even though there is open resistance, it is mostly hidden. It is not organized."

Yeltsin is speaking animatedly and stresses his words with powerful gestures. He is a thick-set man with bright eyes, with which he tries to maintain eye contact with his interlocutor. One can imagine that at the sessions in the Kremlin he did not stop at frontal attacks and open criticism naming specific persons, either. This is exactly what has earned him the bitter opposition of the old guard.

"There are the most varied groups, big ones and small ones—all of them organized informally. They are emerging under different slogans in various towns in the country," Yeltsin says. "But they do not oppose restructuring. Like in the West, where there is the party of the Greens, here in our country there are also groups that advocate environmental protection or the preservation of monuments. At present the 'Memorial' Society is being established for the victims of the repression during the 1930's, and numerous youth associations are also emerging." He is not concerned about this. In the course of glasnost and democratization something like this is a natural process, he says.

Yeltsin does not want to draw a parallel between Lenin's new economic policy, which subsequently brought forth the anti-Lenin forces under Stalin. "The opponents of restructuring are not an organized power.

"And the process of restructuring is irreversible. However, in the future we will be in difficulties, probably more so than today." Setbacks can be avoided, Yeltsin repeats, if supplies of foodstuffs and consumer goods to the population are improved, even though this may take 2 or 3 years. "If we had started with this at once, we would already have achieved some results." He is less concerned by the actual opponents of reform than by its halting progress.

Nationality Issue [subhead]

Asked about the problems with the nationalities and the inherent political dynamite, Yeltsin starts an extensive analysis. The Baltic regions have always distinguished themselves by their higher culture, better organization, and better living conditions, he says. Therefore, restructuring is supported there. "However, one must not push aside the nationality issue, because in those regions it has been much more obvious than in some of our southern republics."

In some Soviet republics there are up to 100 peoples and ethnic groups. "In such republics one has to be 10 times as tactical and careful as in others. During the time of stagnation (the Brezhnev era—the editor) we decided very quickly that there is no nationality problem in our country." This "smugness" has caused the problems to emerge now, and the party will have to deal with them very intensively in 1989, Yeltsin states.

One-Party System [subhead]

The problem also has ideological effects. "In Estonia a popular front has now been established—and this happened not in a multiparty system, where groups usually join to form popular fronts, but in a one-party system! This is a version of a second party, so to speak. Of course, they do not say so. They say: 'Naturally, everyone may join the popular front, even a CPSU member. This is a general, democratic organization.'" This popular front does, however, strive to be represented in the Supreme Soviet and in other social organizations.

The Braking Middle Echelons [subhead]

Asked whether popular fronts are also demanded to circumvent—outside the party—the braking and filtering effect of the bureaucratic middle echelons, who fear for their privileges, Yeltsin says: "No, we do not give up within the party. We do not want to circumvent these braking, middle echelons outside the party, but to drive a hole right through them." One can lead these people to restructuring on different roads, Yeltsin says, actually meaning that one could get rid of them in different ways, namely, by "reeducating, retiring them, giving them totally different work, greatly reducing the apparatus, and giving more independence to other organizations, such as the workers' councils."

Opponent Ligachev [subhead]

Asked what it is that distinguishes him personally from his main opponent Yegor Ligachev, Central Committee secretary and chief ideologist, the second man in the Kremlin, Yeltsin first answers with his typical self-irony: "In the past I never received a commendation for answering questions like this one. Nevertheless, I want to be frank." There is no Yeltsin course and no Ligachev course. There is only a difference in the approaches, in the style and methods of working; but both of us adhere to the same party decisions and support each other. Then, however, Yeltsin's tone gets harsher, he raises his voice, becomes more emotional: "There is much in Comrade Ligachev's working method that is not good for restructuring. This is what I oppose him and why I openly criticize him."

"Even from a high rostrum my opponent—if you want to call him that—uses the methods of a not very cultivated man: Calling me 'Boris'; I can only say that we have not worked together in a mine for 15 years." These manners are not permitted, neither in the party nor in civil relations, and not at all in front of 5,000 people, Yeltsin says, referring to the all-union conference. "I do not want to cite other examples," Yeltsin says angrily and then he does exactly this by saying: "You read his speech and you analyze it yourself."

For the first time one notes a hint of bitterness in Yeltsin's voice, when he says: "I have received neither an apology nor rehabilitation from him." (He had publicly demanded both at the all-union conference.) "Nevertheless, I do not deviate from my principles—first, the principle of socialist justice, then high ethics, and good relations among the comrades." Lenin had quarrels and harsh discussions with Trotskiy, but the next day they solved the problems together. "Calmly and as comrades, as it has to be."

The New Functionary [subhead]

In the various regions the CPSU's credibility depends on the skills of the party leaders, Yeltsin says, and outlines his idea of the new functionary: He has to be "progressive, full of initiative, full of creative energy and elan, and without fear complexes. Then people will believe him." It is easy to recognize Yeltsin himself in this description.

Concerning the privileges of the apparachiks, Yeltsin says: "In the same way as they were established, they can be eliminated again." At the all-union conference in June 1988 he criticized the so-called "supplies to the Kremlin." Since 1 September this privilege of functionaries has been eliminated. This has made tens of thousands of beneficiaries irritated with restructuring, Yeltsin says and does away with this topic immediately. "However, among the people we have been gaining many more followers of restructuring in this way, because they were disgusted with these social injustices."

Struggle Against the Mafia [subhead]

As Moscow's party chief, Yeltsin himself tried to get through the jungle of privileges and corruption by calling a spade a spade with regard to the taboos. Those pilloried in this way were the ones that were set most firmly against his policy. Says Yeltsin: "Of course, we do not use this word and we do not want to admit it, but we have a mafia. Struggling against it is one of the most difficult things I have ever been confronted with, and to put it mildly, this system of privileges has not really contributed to a normal speed of the reform policy."

Disgusting Sausage [subhead]

Yeltsin does in life what he preaches. He not only struggles against privileges in general, but he rejects them for himself, too. He says that his wife buys everything in the normal shops, "where the sausage has such a taste that not even the dogs eat it." Yeltsin reports that when he moved into his office in the Construction Ministry, an employee appeared who wanted to hand him a voucher for a special ration of better foodstuffs—which was practically his right. Yeltsin simply threw him out. "'I do not want to ever see you in this room again,' I told the comrade."

Despite his political fall, Yeltsin appears unbroken and militant.

His anger and contradictoriness awake when he is told that, like Harun al-Rashid in the past, he walks incognito through the streets of the city, takes public means of transport, and visits enterprises. He has been reproached for this, and defamed as a populist who wants to ingratiate himself with the people.

Says Yeltsin: "I told them that this is my special concern, that I did not invent this just in Moscow. When I go to a factory, I use the means of transport that is also used by the workers class. I know that the common worker will ask me about this and then I have to be able to answer him. Then, in my office, I analyze what I have experienced."

One can also orient oneself by examining figures—for instance, public transportation in Moscow is planned for a user density of 4 people per square meter and is being used by 7.5 people per square meter. However, this would mean grasping the problem only with one's mind. "In order to get to know the problem with one's heart and soul so that one remembers it for one's entire life—how unacceptable this problem is and how much one has to struggle to solve it—one has to use the public means of transport oneself."

Unfortunately Popular [subhead]

Asked whether he is recognized in the street and whether people talk to him there, Yeltsin answers, again showing his innate wit: "Unfortunately, I am popular in Chekhov's sense. Chekhov tells about a man who lay down in front of a train to become popular. When he was run over, he was popular. This is probably also true for me," he says, smiling broadly, "because I was axed."

When he privately went to the Bolshoy Theater recently, the audience applauded spontaneously. "This is not pleasant; I will not go to the theater any more."

His eyes again sparkle with roguishness, when he teases the three Austrian journalists. Asked whether he has met with journalists since the controversial BBC interview in May 1988, he says cheerfully: "Yes." An artful pause, the Austrians are disappointed. "Yes, after this 'scandalchik' I gave another interview, namely for the local Baltic paper YURMALA," he laughs ponderously.

Zaykov Backs 'Resolute Action' on Reform

LD2009215388 Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] A member of the Soviet Communist Party's Political Bureau, and the man in charge of the Moscow organization of the party, Lev Zaykov, has come out in favor of resolute action on a reform of the political system in the USSR. He pointed out that the reform will provide for removing the deformations of the past, and for reviving Lenin's principles and the practice of socialist government by the people. He was speaking at a full-scale meeting of the Moscow City Council of Trade Unions. The meeting discussed issues of reorganizing trade union bodies in Moscow in line with the economic reform and the democratization of society.

Sukharev Comments on Reforming Legal Practice

PM0809143188 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Aug 88 p 12

[Interview with USSR General Prosecutor A.Ya. Sukharev by observer Aleksandr Borin under the "Morals and the Law" rubric: "Whose Side Is the Prosecutor On?"; date and place not given]

[Text] A new USSR general prosecutor was appointed quite recently.

Aleksandr Yakovlevich Sukharev was born in 1923, joined the party in 1942, and is a candidate of juridical sciences. During the Great Patriotic War he was chief of staff of a motorized infantry regiment. He was seriously wounded in 1944. After demobilization from the Soviet Army he was engaged in Komsomol and then party work. From 1966 through 1970 he was a section chief in the CPSU Central Committee Administrative Organs Department, from 1970 through 1984 USSR first deputy justice minister, and from 1984 RSFSR justice minister. In February 1988 he was appointed USSR first deputy general prosecutor.

A.Ya. Sukharev is president of the Association of Soviet Jurists.

Eternal Petitioner [subhead]

A pile of readers' letters sits in front of me. Although each has its own story and concern to relate, they essentially deal with the same thing. Someone who does not seek for himself any unwonted benefits to which he is not entitled, but seeks merely what is his due under the law and who, after visiting dozens of offices, constantly keeping on at people and pacing numerous corridors of power, begins to realize how helpless and impotent he is. "Why must I be an eternal petitioner all my life and have to beg for and wheedle out of people what according to all the articles of the law should belong to me, why from my school days to ripe old age must I, who demand nothing that is excessive or anyone else's, live always, everywhere, every day with my hand held out, as it were, in the store, the housing management administration, the workshop, and the ispolkom? Who am I, after all: a citizen of my country or a petitioner in it? And how long can this continue?"—one reader asked me.

What does the editorial office usually do when it receives such bitter letters? Some (a small number) are published on the assumption that the officials cited in the letters will provide a specific and exhaustive answer. But the rest (the overwhelming majority) are sent on to higher authorities: "We will be grateful if, after checking the facts, you deem it possible...."

But where is the guarantee that the authorities really will "deem it possible" and will not avoid the issue by the same old glib, pat, formal reply? To whom then can one turn for redress?

It is obvious: to the prosecutor. The prosecutor is not likely to rely just on persuasion; the prosecutor can actually use his power.

...I attended an enlarged session of the USSR Prosecutor's Office Collegium and listened to a report by USSR General Prosecutor Aleksandr Yakovlevich Sukharev. The point at issue revolved around those same pains and sorrows which had made my reader pick up his pen. But I did not detect any particular optimism in the speaker's words. Quite an alarming picture emerged. "Try to prove you are right in a conflict with a tailoring studio or a repairs workshop," the general prosecutor said. "A waste of time!... The amount of moral injuries and material losses that are inflicted on people by the entire services sphere! Here there are virtually no legal guarantees to protect people's rights."

But what about the prosecutor's supervision? Can we not rely on that?

"Now that we are discovering seats of local 'legality' and departmental tyranny," the general prosecutor said, "the misleading nature and at times even helplessness of prosecutor's supervision are particularly clear. The prosecutor's office gradually became an appendage of the bureaucratic edict system of management, its centralized and independent law enforcement nature was diluted, and its cadres in many regions adapted to mass negative phenomena. Many prosecutors found themselves helpless in the face of abuses by leadership officials, at times covering up arbitrariness and illegality and becoming their accomplices...."

I discussed these things with A.Ya. Sukharev.

[Borin] Aleksandr Yakovlevich, could it be said that the prosecutor's office gradually ceased playing the role for which it was created in the past?

[Sukharev] To a certain extent, yes. In any case, we have started losing sight of Lenin's perception and vision of the prosecutor's supervision—its imperative nature, its uniform demands, its universal character. Masses of most diverse duties were assigned to the prosecutor's office over the last 2 decades. But its main and crucial function was downgraded to secondary and even tertiary importance. What I mean is supervision of the observance of laws, defense of people's rights, and legally guaranteed social justice.

[Borin] But what prevented the prosecutor's office from performing these tasks?

[Sukharev] Primarily the paucity and underdevelopment of the legal base, the shortage of laws protecting specific human rights.

[Borin] But if the requisite laws are lacking, how is their implementation to be monitored? What can the prosecutor do?

[Sukharev] Primarily aim for the adoption of all necessary laws. And also to aim at ensuring that the ones which do exist are observed. This is also quite important.

[Borin] Aim? In other words to force the state and its organs to observe its own laws?

[Sukharev] Do you find that paradoxical? Or do you imagine that it is always easy and simple? Let me give you an example from real life. According to the Civil Code's provisions, a purchaser is entitled in certain conditions to demand a new item in replacement for a substandard one. But departmental instructions virtually deprive a purchaser of the opportunity to exercise this right. The USSR Prosecutor's Office has repeatedly appealed against these instructions as being against the law. And this is what happened. The Council of Ministers summoned a representative of the prosecutor's office and a departmental representative, and the latter said: "You wish us to repeal the instruction and obey the law? As you like. But bear in mind that the replacement of rejected goods by new top-quality ones would cost the state billions of rubles. Does the state have that sort of money?"

[Borin] In other words, we are still not rich enough to observe the law?

[Sukharev] Yes, figuratively speaking. And at times the prosecutor's office has had to give way under pressure from such irrefutable arguments about "billions."

[Borin] Should it not have done so?

[Sukharev] In theory it should not have. But there we also had the effect of another very important psychological stereotype. The following confrontation seemed to emerge: The interests of the public purse, the state, and the whole of society on the one hand, against the petty personal interests of individual purchasers on the other.

[Borin] The interests of the state, or those of a department producing substandard output?

[Sukharev] The department's, of course.

[Borin] But this can be used to justify any illegality. We know, it has been drummed into us since childhood that social interests are always superior to individual interests. And if suddenly there is a clash between these interests, or we are told that there is a clash between them, is it our duty as citizens to spring to attention and offer no objection at all?

[Sukharev] But why should they clash, as a matter of fact? Who would benefit from such a clash? You, I, the state?... This is the point! For decades on end we have been arguing about lofty state interests, about the need to advance industry and agriculture at any price, by any means, regardless of all costs and expenses. But what was the result of all this? Shortages, slowdown, years of stagnation. Because when each individual is robbed, this means that the whole of society is being robbed. Society's interest is the sum total of its citizens' interests.

[Borin] If I have understood you correctly, citizens have hitherto perceived the prosecutor more often than not as a "prohibiter," in other words as someone who was always and without fail imposing some prohibition. But now, in contrast, citizens must perceive the prosecutor as their protector, prohibiting officials from infringing on their rights and freedoms. Is this right?

[Sukharev] Absolutely right. For decades we were dominated by the one-sided view of the law as a coercive force whose duty it was "to hold tight and not to let go." The prosecutor's office, which became a part of the prohibitive mechanism, took shape in these conditions. Expressions like "The prosecutor will put an end to it," or "The prosecutor will impose order" became current. For decades citizens were told: "The prosecutor has no time for the likes of you." The prosecutor was used to intimidate citizens. Terms like "prosecutor" and "defending attorney" seemed diametrically opposite, mutually exclusive. The defending attorney is a lawyer but the prosecutor is the stern eye of the state, as it were. The only thing he can do is take the matter in hand, put people in their place, punish. But such a view of the prosecutor's office in a socialist state based on the rule of law is fundamentally wrong. Not only is it wrong, it is harmful. One of the paramount functions of the prosecutor's office is actually to guarantee the protection of citizens' rights and legitimate interests not in words but in reality. Only thus will it be possible to gain the people's trust in the prosecutor's office.

[Borin] To be honest, people today do not trust the prosecutor's office all that much.

[Sukharev] I would go even further. In some regions we have to overcome a crisis of mistrust. We must demolish this mistrust and reeducate people. Not by words, of course, but by real work in defense of nationwide interests. Today we often hear the formula: "Everything that is not prohibited by law is allowed." Generally speaking, however, prosecutors have been taught for years to watch out in case there is a breach of some individual prohibitions connected, for example, with public order. They have the relevant experience. It is far more difficult to ensure that people and labor collective are able to freely and fully enjoy everything that is not prohibited, everything that is permitted. This is where we will need strong, resolute, and uncompromising prosecutor's supervision in its true Leninist sense.

[Borin] Tell me, Aleksandr Yakovlevich, was it perhaps somewhat easier to prohibit?

[Sukharev] It certainly was easier. There was no need for creativity in thought or action.

[Borin] In that case, a strictly personal question: When you recently took over the office of general prosecutor, were you aware of the burden that you were about to shoulder?

[Sukharev] What you mean is: Did I know what I was taking on? Yes, I did.

"Help, Comrades!" [subhead]

[Borin] And so, it is more or less clear what the prosecutor's office should be doing. But is it equally clear what it should not be doing?

[Sukharev] No, alas. I have been working on this since my very first days in the office of general prosecutor. I consult others, I want to know my colleagues' opinions. There are as many different opinions as there are people. And yet it is extremely important to be certain, to realize when intervention by the prosecutor's office is necessary and when, in contrast, it is not indicated.

[Borin] Are there such cases?

[Sukharev] As many as you like. For example, should the prosecutor's office be dealing with the fulfillment of timber procurement plans or the supplv of empty railroad cars, arbitrating in endless economic squabbles, or pushing for the allocation of resources? A dozen union prosecutor's offices would not be sufficient to unravel all these knots. In the meantime, at times we cannot even look at desperate problems involving discipline and legality within the national economy. I am talking about breaches of labor laws, production and transport accidents, safeguarding the people's wealth....

[Borin] But who is forcing you to deal with purely economic and management issues?

[Sukharev] Forcing us? Nobody is actually forcing us. They simply telephone the prosecutor's office on the government line and call for assistance: "Help, comrades! We're in a mess! The situation must be sorted out."

[Borin] And what do you do?

[Sukharev] There have been different approaches. You heard local prosecutors speaking at the Collegium session. Now we are trying to be firm and to explain that the prosecutor's office is not a management organ, that our task concerns legality in the economic sphere and not deliveries of machine tools and equipment.

[Borin] What do you think: Will the general prosecutor succeed in taking a firm stand?

[Sukharev] It is not easy at times. But there is no other way. The point is not just that we are trying to give up functions that are not proper to our office, trying to give up all the fuss. All these telephone messages and conversations are in essence remnants of the old economic policy of "pressure," attempts to solve a problem not fundamentally, by economic means, but administratively, on the spot.

[Borin] And yet, by virtue of its position, the prosecutor's office is called upon to deal with economic problems?

[Sukharev] Without fail. The duel between the bureaucratic edict system and the incipient economic methods is being fought along the entire front, as it were. Prosecutors are bound to appeal against unlawful actions by departments and guard the enterprises' interests. In other words, to ensure observance of the law.

[Borin] In other words, not to prohibit but to fight those who cannot live without prohibitions, to promote an emancipated and free development of the economy?

[Sukharev] Precisely so.

[Borin] Aleksandr Yakovlevich, in this context I would like to bring up the so-called "unselfish criminals." Say an economic manager, whose hands and feet are tied up by the fetters of departmental instructions, commits a breach of the law and immediately ends up in the dock and then in jail. Are you certain that such tragedies can be altogether ruled out henceforth?

[Sukharev] Yes, I do recall the features carried by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. Incidentally, such distortions were most sharply assessed at the 19th party conference, where it was said that this is a gross infringement of democracy, a distortion of the very essence of economic reform. There was also criticism of the prosecutor's office. And it was quite justified. It is impermissible to equate business enterprise, even when it goes beyond the framework of departmental prescriptions, and the criminal actions by dodgers, or to persecute energetic economic managers. This practice also had its effect on the prestige of the prosecutor's office and of the Administration of Justice organs in general. And if presumptuous noises are still made in places about such cases, this means that people have still not perceived the essence of the changes. This must be stopped before it is too late.

[Borin] But prosecutors and judges will tell you: "Are we to blame for the fact that enterprising economic managers end up in the dock? These are the demands of obsolete laws."

[Sukharev] Well, to start with, any law must be approached sensibly. Some prosecutors avoided excesses like these and, in those complex conditions, did manage to separate the illegal from the socially beneficial. But you are nevertheless right. The new economic and legal policy also needs new and improved legislation. Look how many people who have been sentenced for so-called private enterprise activity. Today we have seen for ourselves that this Criminal Code provision is obsolete and, in some respects, even acts as a brake on socialist enterprise.

[Borin] You know, some readers will read this conversation of ours and will think to themselves: "Oh, look how much kinder our prosecutors have become."

[Sukharev] No, it is unfortunately still too early for our prosecutors to "become kinder." Humanitarianism and human kindness have nothing in common with softness. The reports we receive paint a picture that is far from cheerful; it is in fact rather alarming. Crime is hardly declining, if at all. We are now studying the causes which produced organized crime. Theft and economic mismanagement result in gigantic losses for the economy. The damage caused on kolkhozes and sovkhozes alone by embezzlement and wasted produce was in excess of R2 billion last year. Up to one-third of the produce rots at fruit and vegetable bases in many cities. The country's meat combines waste up to 600,000 tonnes of live weight. And just look at our beloved nature! The Aral Sea is dead. The Black and Azov Seas and the courses of the Volga, Dnepr, Neman, and Amur Rivers are in serious jeopardy. There are specific culprits. Society cannot allow them to go unpunished. But this is not the only point. Today, following the radical changes in the structure of punishments, when the overwhelming majority of persons who have committed crimes are no longer deprived of their freedom, it is necessary to fundamentally restructure the entire system of social preventive measures. Unfortunately, this has not happened yet. A serious gap has developed between the proper course of humanization and the way we, society as a whole, reeducate offenders. In other words, the tremendous educational and preventive potential of labor collectives, the state, and society has not yet been set in motion.

[Borin] Over the last few years there were frequent instances when trumped-up and sham cases slipped in under the guise of struggle against crime, and the activity of the prosecutor's office acquired a frankly accusatory leaning. What do you perceive as the main misfortune and the main cause?

[Sukharev] Yes, there were indeed such cases. Their causes? Briefly speaking, the professional incompetence of some investigators and even prosecutors, the deep-rooted procedural nihilism. Of course, there would have been far fewer such cases if those would-be investigators and forgers had been promptly rebuffed by prosecutor's supervision. This, unfortunately, was often lacking. Incompetence, arrogance, and false corporate loyalties—perhaps these provide an explanation of this impermissible phenomenon. [Sukharev ends]

The Investigator and the Press [subhead]

From A.Ya. Sukharev's report at the enlarged session of the USSR Prosecutor's Office Collegium: "During the 1st 6 months, several thousand cases were remitted by the courts for additional investigation. In cases involving almost 3,000 persons the courts either passed a sentence of not guilty or dismissed the cases owing to mitigating circumstances. These data represent not only changes in the practical work of courts and prosecutors but also numerous instances of gross illegality. These instances occur not only at rayon and oblast level but also in the investigation units of union republic prosecutor's offices. The most serious complaints in this regard are against the investigations unit of the RSFSR Prosecutor's Office. That office failed to draw conclusions from the collapse of the cases against Kondratenko, former prorector of the All-Union Part-Time Juridical Institute; Sukhov, deputy chief of the Moscow Oblispolkom's Internal Affairs Administration; and a number of others...."

[Borin] LITERATURNAYA GAZETA wrote about the Kondratenko case. Do you know what fury this article caused in the prosecutor's office? Generally speaking, as soon as you speak the bitter truth about investigators' work you start receiving angry letters from them: "You are undermining our authority, you are obstructing our work." This means that the prosecutor's office is discredited not by their mistakes and abuses but by the publication of the unbiased truth about them.

[Sukharev] Of course, in all fairness, I must say that the press carries quite a few critical generalizations and exaggerations. After all, most of our officials are honest and selfless workers, skilled in their work. But there is also an allergy to publicized truth. All this happens because the prosecutor's office officials often lack sufficient courage to be the first to publicize their own mistakes and errors, to identify the culprits and say what punishment they have suffered. We let the press organs enjoy a monopoly of criticism and truth, and then we feel insulted by them. No, we must thank the press organs. And if some sensationalist and inaccurate articles do appear, we ourselves are mostly to blame. We need to establish permanent and productive contacts with editorial offices and journalists; we must be the first to offer our hand.

[Borin] But there are contacts and contacts. What is your attitude to instances when the investigation is still in progress, the case has not been sent for trial, and the investigator is already in a hurry to use the press to prepare public opinion and influence the future judges?

[Sukharev] Sharply negative. This is not just a question of ethics, even though the ethical principle is exceptionally important in the work of investigation organs. The main point is the infringement of human rights. Much of the evidence is still to be collected and investigated, much still remains unclear and contradictory, there is still no indictment, but the conclusion about a crime committed by a person or group of people is already bandied about in the press, exciting public opinion and being embellished by more and more additional details. In these conditions it is, of course, easier for an investigator to close the case and for a prosecutor to go to court and demand the harshest of punishment for the accused. Is there a shortage of evidence or arguments? Never mind, the public's emotional mood will make up for it. But we do know how dangerous and harmful such moods can be for the administration of justice. I do not wish to draw parallels with the bad memories of "orchestrated justice" in the thirties and its tragic consequences; I will say only that such public "support" cannot and must not reappear in any form, to any extent, under any guise.

[Borin] But investigators who resort to help from the press in such cases explain their actions by saying that otherwise, without an open and public discussion, without the strength of public opinion, they would be unable to take certain major leaders to task. The higher echelons of power do not give up "their own." In all probability, there is some justification behind these explanations, isn't there?

[Sukharev] Yes, there certainly is. I would even say this. Many of the "sensational" cases in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Krasnodar Kray, and Moscow which have already been tried started with great difficulties. And what difficulties! Subsequent checks revealed that those who had fiercely resisted the investigation and tried to obstruct it had themselves been involved in and contaminated by corruption. Of course, the struggle against such forces needs glasnost and support. But in what form? There are numerous ways. For example, journalists have recently been writing in favor of adopting a law which would provide for the harshest possible punishment for interference in the work of investigating organs and the courts. Such a law would probably not harm the cause. But there are also other ways. For example, picking up and publicizing cases—and there are quite a few of them—when the idea of deputies' immunity is perverted, when attempts are made by fair means or foul to shield high-ranking nomenklatura officials, including party officials, from responsibility. To actually name people who obstruct investigations and exert pressure. There are also instances of a different kind. Some investigators, complaining that their work is being hindered, demand by way of an exception repeated extensions of the accused's detention in custody when there is no absolute need for it or, as you correctly remarked, at times recruit the press as their ally to gain support for the accusation. In other words, to actually infringe the principle of the presumption of innocence. But how can there be exceptions when you are talking about the law? Whenever "exceptions" are made, a nihilistic rot sets into the awareness of justice and our moral and juridical principles are undermined.

[Borin] Speaking of the law, how do you explain the practice whereby people get expelled from the party even prior to their trial, while the investigation is still under way?

[Sukharev] As a rule, they are expelled not because of the crimes they have committed but because of incontrovertibly proved immoral offenses in office, incompatible with party membership.

[Borin] But by no means always. There are cases when someone is clean and absolutely unblemished but is accused of allegedly taking bribes. And even though this is not true and the court has not yet passed its sentence, the person is deprived of his party card.

[Sukharev] I think that in such cases the question of his party membership ought to be decided only after a court's sentence.

[Borin] And one final question about investigations. It is well known that, in the not too distant future, the bulk of investigation work will be transferred to the MVD. I know that many prosecutor's office personnel have rather ambiguous views of this prospect.

[Sukharev] Yes, perhaps. But first of all, what prompted this decision? I think that there is no need to dwell on this in detail; the motivation is well known. The concentration of investigation and supervision under one roof at times produced serious anomalies and, as I have already said, resulted in departmental and corporate interests gaining the upper hand: hence the prosecutors' accusatory leanings. Consequently, the prosecutor's supervision of investigations lost its edge and its objectivity. It is, moreover, impossible to do everything. While concentrating their main efforts and attention on the investigation of criminal cases, prosecution personnel—or at least the leadership cadres—gave insufficient and inefficient attention to their main task, which is to supervise the observance of laws and to protect citizens' rights and legitimate interests. It must also be borne in mind that this work is far less productive but is often more labor-intensive. Of course, an investigation is in the public eye, it produces effects, its results are tangible. Sensational trials are covered by the press, people talk about them, and an investigator who has unraveled a complex case gains popularity. But what is involved in constant, daily, painstaking supervision of the observance of laws? At enterprises, in departments, at the regional level? Or in the monitoring of control and auditing services and the fulfillment of ispolkom decisions? Drudging and at times hardly productive work. Producing quite a few conflicts at times. You always feel the pressure, the resistance by leaders of various ranks and in various positions.

[Borin] But the investigation of certain categories of crimes will still be retained by prosecutor's offices?

[Sukharev] Yes, for example cases involving charges against officials of law enforcement organs. Furthermore, the prosecutor's office will in any event be entitled to take over the prosecution of any criminal case. This is why it will retain within its structure a corps of highly trained specialists. And the prosecutor's permanent supervision of investigations will of course be stepped up. Thus we are in no way relieved of responsibility for the legitimacy and quality of investigations.

[Borin] There were proposals to create an independent investigating apparatus outside both the prosecutor's office and the MVD.

[Sukharev] Yes, there were proposals along these lines. I think that, in principle, they are the most logical and most acceptable. But this is unrealistic for the present. It would take too much time and effort to organize all this sudden upheaval, essentially starting from scratch. I think that the best possible solution has been made for the time being, following a comprehensive and profound debate.

[Borin] This might be unrealistic today. But how about tomorrow or the day after tomorrow?

[Sukharev] Let's wait and see. But the point is probably more than just a question of who will "process" the investigation. New criminal legislation and criminal procedures legislation will come into force in the near future. Our administration of justice is being improved and democratized. Broad guarantees of human rights will come into effect also in this sphere. Attorneys will probably be allowed access at the earliest stages of the investigation. Incidentally, I personally am categorically in favor of such an innovation. The adversary principle of trial will be significantly developed and strengthened. The following question suggests itself: Are all our investigators and prosecutors ready to work in these new conditions? Many will be forced to learn anew, and some might even have to resign. There is no other alternative.... [Sukharev ends]

Law and Politics [subhead]

From a reader's letter: "I will believe in our state based on the rule of law when I hear that a prosecutor has appealed against an obkom secretary's decision...."

[Borin] Aleksandr Yakovlevich, how would you answer this reader?

[Sukharev] From the juridical viewpoint I would say that no secretary of any party committee makes one-man decisions. Power is vested in the entire party committee. But strictly speaking, this question is well-founded. A state based on the rule of law presupposes universal applicability of legality, and consequently the universality of the prosecutor's supervision. There are not and there cannot be double standards in legality, with some echelons of power subject to prosecutor's supervision while others are not. But let us get back to specifics. What sort of people are obkom secretaries today? As a general rule, they are authoritative and respected party leaders, elected to their position by a section of the population—by Communists—and accountable to them. Of course, obkom secretaries wield great power, and obkom decisions could affect the entire population. But the secretary is not elected or replaced by the population and he is not accountable to the population. Matters will be different when the political system outlined in the 19th party conference resolutions is established. To become chairman of the soviet of people's deputies, the obkom secretary will have to be be elected by the entire population and will be subject to its will and its democratic monitoring. And now about prosecutor's supervision. Can a prosecutor today appeal against what you described as "an unlawful decision by an obkom secretary?" In principle yes, he can, if this decision is against the law. But party decisions are usually "subject to appeal" along party lines. It is possible to go as high as the Party Control Committee and the Central Committee itself but, strictly speaking, prosecutor's appeals are not of a state law nature. The chairman of a soviet is a different matter. His is an office of state, his juridical powers and his accountability are laid down and clearly defined. It is evident that the prosecutor's supervision of his actions will become more effective, more comprehensive, and more firmly based on law. A party office will no longer provide a shield. On the contrary, the fate of a secretary's office will become largely dependent on the confidence the entire population has in him, on the reputation he has gained among the population, and of course on his skill and ability to work in the conditions of a state based on the rule of law.

[Borin] Politics being coupled with the law?

[Sukharev] The law will provide a guarantee and foundation of the present political restructuring of our society. Foreign visitors often ask me: "Attempts to restructure society were also made in Khrushchev's time. What is the difference? Where are the guarantees?" I tell them in reply: There is a vast and fundamental difference! At that time, matters went no further than party directives. At best, these directives went no further than the aktiv. (I do not wish to touch on the scientific and social substantiation of those plans and projects.) How about today? Let me point out just two facts. Thanks to glasnost, the ideas and plans of restructuring have now reached the minds and hearts of millions of people and have become their life's work. At the same time, specific juridical mechanisms are being created whose purpose is to regulate and provide backing for the new processes occurring within society. The Law on the Enterprise, the Law on the Cooperative System... [subhead]

[Borin] Is there a struggle to create them?

[Sukharev] What do you expect? Life is bringing us face to face with phenomena and problems which we neither considered nor even imagined in the past. For example, we always believed that there were not and could not be any strikes in our country. And yet we have been experiencing them. Legally speaking, we have found ourselves unarmed against them. The West has laws which lay down when strikes are legal and when they are not permitted and cannot take place. We have no such laws. Huge losses have resulted. Obviously, it is necessary to make legal provisions for such situations. Or take the Law on Rallies, Marches, and Demonstrations which was recently adopted....

[Borin] Many people interpret it as a de facto prohibition of them.

[Sukharev] This is untrue. This is again the effect of trying to perceive primarily a prohibition in every legal norm.

[Borin] What can you do? People have gotten used to it.

[Sukharev] Yes. But the time has come to break this habit. In particular, to realize that regulations are needed to ensure that while you exercise your freedom you do not infringe other people's freedoms. This is very important, and I want to especially emphasize it. Democracy does not mean anarchy, while freedom is a conscious need, presupposing self-control and self-discipline. People must be skilled in exercising democratic freedoms. This is because the inability to exercise freedoms and the abuse of democracy can only harm democracy itself and primarily man himself. You can already hear it said: "That's enough talk about democracy; people are completely out of control; it is time to impose order."

[Borin] Nostalgia for the repressive big stick?

[Sukharev] Evidently. But in order to ensure that the times of repressive big sticks are consigned to oblivion, it is necessary to oppose them with conscientious and considered self-discipline based on the rule of law. After all, no society can live by the principle of "give me what I want and let everything else go to hell." Especially a socialist society. You must give to society in order to demand and take. This applies not only to the material sphere but to our entire life.

[Borin] Aleksandr Yakovlevich, it is well known that socialism does not preclude the utilization of valuable historical experience accumulated by mankind in all spheres. Does this mean that we might find an application for any useful experiences of bourgeois democracy in the creation of a socialist state based on the rule of law?

[Sukharev] I would imagine so. This was exactly how V.I. Lenin posed the question. The building of socialism does not begin from scratch, it proceeds on the basis of all great gains by world civilization, and there is certainly no need to invent what we could utilize without any damage to restructuring. Bourgeois society seems to have two wings. One of them produced Hitler and Pinochet, the other has developed under the strong influence of the workers movement. Its achievements are considerable—trade union gains, certain successes in the human rights sphere. There are, of course, also some progressive political and legal views and institutions—separation of powers, the concept of the juridical equality of state and citizen.... Nevertheless, when utilizing the forms and all that is valuable and critically adapting them to suit our goals and interests, we must constantly bear in mind the tremendous creative potential of our socialist democracy born out of Great October. All that is necessary is to restore Lenin's vision of socialist democracy in all its grandeur, to rid and cleanse it of all accretions and distortions of all kinds. I would also add this: What is needed is not so much to transplant from other people's gardens, but to create our own—boldly, taking into account the achievements made by us and by world socialism.

Komsomol Official on 'Informals,' Moscow Meeting

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[Interview with V. Fronin, chief of the Komsomol Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department, by S. Oganyan in Moscow, carried as part of full-page feature entitled "Youth and Time": "We Met at 4, Griboyedov Street"; date of interview not given—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The A.A. Blagonravov Machine Science Institute is sited in one of Moscow's old mansions on quiet Griboyedov Street. An orderly academic atmosphere. There are no immediately visible signs that it was right here, in the conference hall of the former All-Russia Polytechnical Society, that the stormy sessions of the First Komsomol Congress were held in October 1918. An all-union meeting of representatives of young people's political clubs is planned to be held here in October this year. It could become another event of considerable importance for the country's youth. This was the topic of our conversation with Vladislav Fronin, chief of the Komsomol Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department.

[Oganyan] Vladislav, delegates representing young Communists, nonparty people, left-wing socialist revolutionaries, and anarchist individualists at the congress assembled in this hall 70 years ago.... Who do you expect to attend the forthcoming meeting? Is it likely to become just another jubilee event organized by the Komsomol Central Committee?

[Fronin] No. There will be no ostentation. Nobody is going to hear the ritual phrase "Young pioneers have come to greet us." Nor will soldiers march in step to report and give assurances. But even so—70 years! How have we spent them? What are we going to carry over from the past into the future, as it were? What "experiences" are we rejecting? Briefly speaking, there are good reasons to think things over, to compare....

[Oganyan] To compare what against what?

[Fronin] Let me try to explain. At that time, in October 1918, revolutionary young people holding different political beliefs and belonging to almost 40 tiny and disparate organizations decided—and succeeded!—to unite within a lasting Communist league. So why is this league today on the brink of a crisis as regards young people's confidence, as was said at the 20th Komsomol Congress? Some people say: All the damage stems from the fact that the Komsomol is the only organization and, consequently, young people have no choice. On the face of it, the logic of such arguments cannot be refuted. On the other hand, however, is it necessary to set the Komsomol in opposition to rockers and heavy-metal fans, or to environmentalists and hobby club members? Very many of them are established and function within the Komsomol framework and with support from Komsomol committees.

At this point, however, it is necessary to make a substantial amplification. My personal viewpoint is that not a single young people's organization, not even the Komsomol, can—within the framework of the concept of socialist pluralism—automatically claim to represent the interests of all young people without exception. In my view, the mistake lies in our overbearing desire to generalize all and everything. There is no need to groundlessly reproach (or praise) all "informal" associations. Nor the whole Komsomol.

[Oganyan] Will the "informals" be represented at the forthcoming all-union meeting of young people's political clubs?

[Fronin] In all honesty, I don't know. I don't think that this is the issue. Who will fill this hall? All this must be decided collectively and openly [glasno] in every republic, kray, or oblast.

[Oganyan] But what if all who assemble take an exclusively identical stance? Could we really expect any serious polemics between first secretaries of Komsomol obkoms and kraykoms?

[Fronin] Do you mean—looking at it from the opposite angle—that a debate would be guaranteed if leaders of the "informals" were to come? That secretaries, especially those who are the young people's genuine informal leaders, have nothing to argue about? I disagree! Of course, I am not against the "informals." I am against "informals" for the purpose of window-dressing. Matters have reached a ludicrous point, you see, and people are even talking about "adding a sprinkling of informals," as if talking about a pinch of pepper without which the conversation would be flavorless, tasteless, and bland.

Unfortunately, our league today is still often equated with the Komsomol apparatus. I recently visited the "Aprel" Political Club (an informal club, by the way) in Orenburg, and the first question I was asked was: "How come Shchelokov's son became a senior official in the Komsomol Central Committee?" What does this prove? Yes, there were times when people like Shchelokov could become ministers and their children could make a career in the Komsomol, maybe in preparation for becoming ministers as well. But restructuring blocked this.... Society is changing. The Komsomol is also changing.

[Oganyan] What is really changing in the Komsomol Central Committee's work today? Is anything changing?

[Fronin] Let us look at what the Central Committee dealt with over the period of 1 week, for example.

Tuesday. The Central Committee Secretariat examined a letter from V. Lomykov, a young invalid from Novocherkassk, and the problems it raised which by no means affected him alone. The Komsomol Central Committee became one of the founding members of the All-Russia Invalids' Voluntary Society.

Wednesday. The press published a government resolution backing Komsomol Central Committee proposals on promoting Komsomol economic activity. A free rein was given to young people's initiative at local level—to develop economic activity on conditions advantageous to young people and subject to most-favored treatment.

Sunday. Operation "I Choose To Live in the Countryside," organized by the Komsomol Central Committee and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. There were 120,000 applications from people wishing to move to the countryside, and 30,000 did move. By way of support for young settlers in the countryside, the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a resolution instituting additional benefits for them.

I think that the facts speak for themselves.

[Oganyan] I agree. But there was another event which occurred that same week: According to BBC reports, a "Conference of the Federation of Socialist Organizations and Clubs" was held in Moscow Thursday through Sunday. And if that same radio station is to be believed, the Komsomol Central Committee "suddenly refused to organize" this conference....

[Fronin] Yes, such a conference did take place. But the advance letter sent to the Komsomol Central Committee by representatives of diverse independently run associations and clubs—most of which are not officially registered, by the way—talked about holding an information meeting. It was this—an information meeting—that the Komsomol Central Committee refused to help organize. We planned to let participants use a hostel and one of the auditoriums at the Higher Komsomol School. We intended to invite our scientists, Komsomol aktiv members, and local propaganda workers to meet the "informals." Naturally, we were aware that the Komsomol Central Committee and some participants in the proposed meeting held positions which differed in many respects. But the norm of restructuring is clear and simple—do not avoid contacts and, playing more than just the role of walk-on extras, get actively involved in debates and strive to elaborate sensible solutions. A self-appointed organizational committee was planning to be the organizer of the meeting, and it was determining the composition of delegations, the agenda, the purpose of debate....

We have had experience in organizing such meetings. Back in January the Komsomol Central Committee helped organize a city meeting of these "informals" at its "Yunost" Hotel. There were complications and friction also on that occasion, but the meeting did take place.

The situation changed somewhat on 28 July, the day when the well-known USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree "On the Procedure for Organizing and Holding Meetings, Rallies, Street Marches, and Demonstrations in the USSR" was published. The decree was addressed, in particular, also to the self-appointed organizational committee as organizer of the planned meeting, and the Moscow City Soviet did not give its consent to the meeting being held.

[Oganyan] In such a case the Komsomol Central Committee could take on the functions of organizer. This is, after all, not a private question but a political and ultimately a legal issue. Any Komsomol committee, whether an obkom or a raykom, could find itself in a similar situation. What is to be done?

[Fronin] There are no cut-and-dried answers here. If a Komsomol committee were to take on full political and legal responsibility, how could we in all seriousness talk about a really "informal" movement? Yes, responsibility should be taken, if necessary, on a clearly understood condition: There must be no vagueness or ambiguous interpretation of tasks and goals. We are not, of course, talking about stage management—such complex situations simply require elementary relations of reciprocal honesty.

Let us make a comparison. This is what the self-appointed organizational committee wrote about the meeting's main goals in its application to the Moscow City Soviet: "Discussion of forms and methods of activity to...implement the 19th party conference decisions." And this is what one of the aktiv members told the BBC correspondent: "The conference (of the Federation of Socialist Organizations and Clubs—V.F.) elaborated the Federation's political declaration which noted in particular that the 19th party conference undermined hopes for a possible bloc of liberal forces within the CPSU and the broad democratic movement. At present we are dealing with a right-centrist bloc and the defeat of the liberals."

Thus, the application to the Moscow City Soviet spoke about exchanging information and work experience between independently run associations. The actual conference, as is clear from that same BBC interview, also adopted a resolution "On the 20th Anniversary of the Entry of Soviet Troops Into Czechoslovakia" as the anniversary of—and I quote—"intervention." Is it possible to take on responsibility for such unpredictable turns of events?

[Oganyan] This is evidently why you "backtracked," as one of the central newspapers remarked?

[Fronin] Was there any "backtracking"? We, for example, offered to inform participants at local level promptly, by telegraph, of the changed time for the meeting. The self-appointed organizational committee refused and held the meeting. It did so, incidentally, despite the negative decision by the Moscow City Soviet which was made on the basis of the Constitution and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree. You could probably criticize the decree and call it imperfect and premature. But today, when we are recreating a rule-of-law state, it is impossible to pretend that the decree does not exist at all and to bypass a decision by an executive organ of power.

I think that this will certainly be discussed at the forthcoming meeting of representatives of young people's political clubs in the country in October.

Uzbek Leader on Fight Against Old Order

PM2009143388 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 38, 17-23 Sep 88 (Signed to Press 15 Sep 88) pp 5-6

[Interview with R.N. Nishanov, first secretary of Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, by P. Lukyanchenko under the "Our Interview" rubric: "Cleansing by Means of the Truth"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Lukyanchenko] In April 1985 a process of resolute struggle against various deformations of socialism began in the country. As the last party congress noted, distortion of data, bribery, and corruption were most acute in Uzbekistan. Some 3 and ½ years have passed since then, and it would now seem possible to summarize some of the results of that struggle. However—and this is no secret to anyone—people are still saying that it is proving difficult to improve matters in the republic. This is also demonstrated by some items in the press.

[Nishanov] The press has done much to actively help party organizations in this period, which is crucial to everyone. But the press, as the mirror of glasnost which lays bare the shortcomings, sometimes destroys the old while failing to notice the birth of the new.

There is a determined and difficult struggle under way in the republic against the legacy of the period of stagnation, a struggle which improves all spheres of society's life. Here it should be said immediately that the moral core implanted in the Uzbek people during the socialist transformations and the implementation of Lenin's nationalities policy proved unusually durable. All the distortions and deformations could not break it. That was also noted by M.S. Gorbachev, who stressed during his visit to Uzbekistan in April this year that he had been most strongly impressed by people's activeness, openness, and willingness to discuss the most serious questions.

[Lukyanchenko] Rafik Nishanovich, when did the republic begin to put is cadre affairs in order?

[Nishanov] In principle soon after Rashidov's death. And it began with the upper echelons. In January 1984 Karimov, first secretary of Bukhara party obkom, and Gaipov, first secretary of Kashka Darya Obkom, were relieved of their duties for serious professional failings. They were suspected of involvement in bribery and distortion of data. But at that time we had no facts. Incidentally, it was only 8 months later that they arrested Karimov and even later that they came for Gaipov and the others.

[Lukyanchenko] What gave impetus to the beginning of the campaign against negative phenomena in the republic?

[Nishanov] The arrival in Uzbekistan at the beginning of 1984 of a group of CPSU Central Committee executives to study questions of party and state building. Analysis showed that Lenin's norms of party life had been forgotten in the republic, that law and order and the rule of law had been crudely violated, and that embezzlement, distortion of data, and bribery were rife. All this was the result of the flawed method of cadre selection which had come about in recent decades, one based not on political or professional qualities but on regional favoritism and kinship.

Many raykom secretaries regarded themselves as feudal lords. They punished or pardoned people as they saw fit. They did not hesitate, for example, to order the law-enforcement organs not to institute criminal proceedings against "their people."

Ways had to be found to cure this serious disease. The CPSU Central Committee showed great confidence in our party organization and proposed discussing the situation at a plenum. Thus our Communists came to their 16th plenum....

[Lukyanchenko] ... which was a bombshell.

[Nishanov] Yes, for the first time the plenum heard that the republic's cotton statistics had been exaggerated by over 400,000 tonnes a year. Note that the plenum participants themselves spoke about this. More precise figures became known much later. Much remained concealed at the 16th plenum because the plenum participants included people who were guilty of all those crimes.

[Lukyanchenko] But clearly some general plan for curing the Uzbek party organization's ailments was worked out? Couldn't the veil of professional secrecy have been lifted a little?

[Nishanov] But there is no secrecy here. It was the 16th plenum in June 1984 which elaborated the general plan for rectifying all the distortions and abuses. It was necessary to restore Lenin's principles of party leadership—collegiality and glasnost—and to revive criticism, self-criticism, and the activeness of primary party organizations. The old cadre corps was incapable of resolving these tasks. The main, urgent problem was to improve cadre policy.

In the first stage it was necessary to unconditionally remove people who had compromised themselves. Then to replace all those workers who, despite being honest, were nonetheless weak. And then to recommend for appointment only those who merited appointment by virtue of their professional and political qualities. This is no short-term process. It is still going on.

In the past 4 years 58,000 senior officials have been replaced in the republic.

[Lukyanchenko] Much is now being written about Rashidovism. From 1963 to 1970 you were the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee secretary for ideology. Were there really no sound forces in the republic party organization at that time who could have spoken out against that evil?

[Nishanov] There were. They wrote to the center and spoke out against the defective style of leadership. But the whole problem was that during the years of stagnation principledness was not highly regarded and those people were cruelly persecuted. For example, R. Gulyamov, first secretary of Tashkent party obkom, was removed from office because of Rashidov's intrigues. His letters to the CPSU Central Committee about the unhealthy atmosphere in the republic were blocked by Rashidov who, as is well known, was on good terms with Brezhnev. Incidentally, R. Gulyamov is now chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet and heads the republic's War and Labor Veterans Council.

I could also cite Academicians M. Mukhamedzhanov and Kh. Abdullayev, former Central Committee Second Secretary R.Ye. Melnikov, former Council of Ministers Chairman A. Alimov, and others, all of whom experienced the great man's wrath and vengeance. Anyone who had an opinion of his own and tried to object or argue with Rashidov was quickly removed from his leading post on some spurious pretext. In the late sixties-early seventies this fate befell K. Murtazayev, A. Abdurazzakov, and M. Ibragimov, first secretaries of Bukhara party obkom, Tashkent party obkom, and Namangan party obkom respectively....

[Lukyanchenko] And you were forced to change party work for diplomatic work, where you stayed for 16 years....

I should like to ask you a question which worries many of our readers. In the course of restructuring a large number of unresolved problems have surfaced in the sphere of national relations. The events in Kazakhstan and Nagorno-Karabakh are evidence of that. But there are representatives of many nations and ethnic groups living in Uzbekistan. Do you have any problems in that respect?

[Nishanov] In this sphere, as in many others, the failures have to a considerable extent again been due to cadre policy. Utterly uncommitted individuals were promoted to leading posts because of voluntarism, personal loyalties, and friendships. They also impeded the strengthening of interethnic relations....

[Lukyanchenko] Yet Rashidov in his day was considered one of the republic's leading publicists and a major specialist on problems of international education....

[Nishanov] It is clear to everyone now what kind of writer and leader he was. As for international education, there was much distortion of data, sham, and ostentation there, just as in cotton production. The work of party committees lacked a clear system and critical assessment of results, and negative aspects were hushed up. There were ethnic distortions in the formation of the party and state apparatus, law-enforcement organs, and scientific and cultural institutions, party recruitment, and nominations for state awards. The situation was aggravated by many unresolved social problems.

[Lukyanchenko] How are all these difficult questions being resolved now?

[Nishanov] Recently the Uzbek leadership, together with the leadership of the neighboring republics of Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Turkmenia, and Tajikistan, carried out a sober analysis of the situation and their real potential, defined the priorities for the republics' economic, social, and cultural development, and advocated the elimination of the failings and negative phenomena of the past.

[Lukyanchenko] But what does that mean in practice?

[Nishanov] The cultural needs of the Tajiks, Kirghizians, Kazakhs, Turkmenians, Crimean Tatars, and representatives of the other nationalities living in Uzbekistan are being satisfied more fully now. But one cannot ignore the fact that questions of the correlation of the national and the international and the role of language are sometimes interpreted in too sweeping and ill-considered terms.

Of course, today's problems will be replaced by new ones produced by the new qualitative state of society. The most important thing is that they must be resolved promptly so that they do not acquire an unhealthy character.

[Lukyanchenko] In the past 4 years the CPSU Central Committee has sent hundreds of experienced and prestigious Communists to Uzbekistan. Has this had any effect on the methods and style of party work in the republic?

[Nishanov] First of all I should like to stress that this is the first time in the past 30 years that such large-scale measures of assistance have been implemented with regard to our republic. The arrival of the new people really helped increase our experience in the organizational and political work of the country's largest party organizations. As a result the situation in party committees and labor collectives is changing. An atmosphere of glasnost, democratization, and exactingness toward leaders of all ranks is being established.

This year plenums, aktivs, and party committee bureaus heard 2,449 reports from leading officials, and primary party organizations heard 28,872 reports. Around 40,000 leaders have already been elected democratically. The sociopolitical certification of Communists has had a great effect.

We know that during the reports and elections in party organizations the disguised supporters of the past, using various demagogic methods, have been trying to fight the forces of restructuring. It is they, of course, who have been trying to exploit national feelings, local self-interest, and kinship sentiments. But there can be no doubt that Communists and the broad strata of the working people will see who is the real champion of restructuring and who is posing as a supporter of glasnost and democracy only in an attempt to reverse that process.

[Lukyanchenko] Cotton, which during the stagnation years became the monoculture and a means for the misrepresentation of data, is considered the source of many problems in Uzbekistan. Has anything been done to rectify the distortions in planning and the management of production?

[Nishanov] The question is not quite accurate. Cotton was and remains Uzbekistan's most important internationalist contribution to the all-union division of labor and the basis of its economy. And as the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee plenum noted recently, the Food Program does not conflict with cotton production in any way.

As for misrepresentation of data, there you are absolutely right. The economic mechanism which existed at that time oriented farmers not toward qualitative indicators but toward quantitative ones. The cotton grower's work was assessed not according to end product—fiber—but raw material. In 1985 the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers accepted the republic's proposal on accounting in terms of fiber. They abolished the Uzbek SSR Ministry of the Cotton Cleaning Industry, in whose subdivisions the underground millionaires who shamelessly plundered the state did their dirty work.

These measures produced results. Whereas in 1983 the production of cotton fiber was 26.6 percent, in 1987 that figure had risen to 32.2 percent [of gross output]. Compared with 1983, an extra 270,000 tonnes of fiber and 26,000 tonnes of oil, worth in total more than R500 million, were produced from the raw cotton processed in 1987.

[Lukyanchenko] How do you view the current situation in the republic?

[Nishanov] It must be said that the process of economic improvement now under way and the new economic mechanism have still not acquired the momentum we need. But the potential is there, as the first results indicate. The production volume at enterprises working under the new conditions rose by 4.4 percent in the first 7 months of this year, whereas in the republic's industry as a whole the increase was only 1.6 percent. Good results are being achieved by those collectives working on the team, family, and lease contract.

Now we have a clear program for the solution of social problems too. The situation in health care in the republic has more than once been criticized in the newspapers and journals and on television. The situation is changing for the better. In just a short period 400 administrative buildings and premises have been transferred to medical establishments and 162 of them are already working as prevention and treatment centers.

The private residences built for Rashidov's family and his immediate entourage have now been turned into preventive clinics for municipal services workers in Tashkent City.

Party organs are strictly monitoring the observance of social justice in the distribution of housing, too. Great Patriotic War veterans and invalids have been allocated a 60-apartment block in Tashkent.

A very intensive construction program has been adopted—the existing housing stock will practically be doubled by 1990.

Fairs are held regularly in all oblast centers and major cities, evening and night trade has been organized, and just last month 60 stores switched to 24-hour-a-day working. Around 130 first-story premises of various types with a total area of 8,000 square meters have already been transferred to trade and consumer services enterprises.

I believe that these and other social reorganization measures will help restore people's faith in justice. There is strenuous work ahead for us. But we are getting there, as they say out east.

[Lukyanchenko] One final question. How do you view the work of the USSR Prosecutor's Office investigation group?

[Nishanov] Most positively. We are working in close contact with workers of the USSR Prosecutor's Office and the republic's law-enforcement organs. They have done and are doing an extraordinary amount of work to establish order in the republic and to expose and bring to court the bribe-takers from the Rashidov entourage and all those who sullied themselves with the taint of distortion, misrepresentation, and other misdeeds. The struggle is an acute one, and the main weapon in it is not words but practical deeds.

But I would like to note frankly that the prosecutor's office organs could not work effectively but for the powerful support and comprehensive assistance they have been given by party organs. These reciprocal contacts help to highlight negative factors and prevent mistakes.

Concrete, real results, above all in the improvement of people's living conditions—that is the main criterion by which working people will judge each of us.

Historian Interviewed on 1932-33 Famine

LD1709132688 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1935 GMT on 16 September broadcasts as part of its "View" program a recorded interview by an unidentified correspondent with Dr Viktor Petrovich Danilov, coauthor of a book entitled: "The Collectivization of Agriculture in the USSR 1927-32."

The report opens with old black and white footage of a procession in which banners of Stalin feature prominently, to the accompaniment of triumphant music.

The correspondent says: I would like you, Viktor Petrovich, to tell me about the events in the countryside 55 years ago, about which we know very little and which have been widely discussed—and still are being discussed—in the West.

Danilov asks: You mean the famine of 1932-33? The correspondent replies: Yes.

As the video shows old photographs of underfed people and dead bodies, accompanied by sombre music, Danilov continues:

"To talk of this famine is to talk of the most terrible crime of Stalin, of the Stalinist leadership, against the Soviet people and the cause of socialism. It is a famine that gripped rural localities in the country's grain regions, regions which produced grain and fed the whole country. It is a famine that can be called an organized famine—not organized in the sense that the idea of creating a famine was born in somebody's evil mind and carried out, but organized in the sense that the leadership of the country at that time, the Stalinist leadership, knew full well that the famine was beginning, that the famine was in progress, and that the famine could be averted; not only did they not do anything, on the contrary, they aggravated the situation." Danilov does not elaborate on this, but is asked about death figures. He replies.

"Foreign literature mentions figures for victims of the famine from 3-4 million to 6-7 million people. There are even calculations for the losses of the Soviet population in the 1930's, to the effect that if they are summed up, it would turn out that there was no one to defend the country in 1941."

Danilov goes on to recall so-called "hairdressers," peasant women who went into the fields after the famine had started to cut ears of grain to make porridge to feed their families. "This crime against public property brought into life the famous law of 7 August 1932 on the protection of socialist property, which was signed by Stalin in his own hand. That law stipulated the highest measure of punishment—death by shooting, with confiscation of all possessions—for such theft."

The interview closes with more old film of a triumphant Stalinist procession.

Following some totally unrelated items, the "View" program returns to the theme, showing a book to the camera. It is entitled: "The Collectivization of Agriculture in the USSR, 1927-32," with Dr Danilov as one of the authors. The presenter explains that it is "the first trial copy of a book that lay under cover for 24 years and did not see the light of day. Only this year was the decision made to publish this book. It tells of how collectivization was carried out, of the barbaric and far from merciful methods with which it was implemented.

I think that it is precisely then that the feeling of ownership was lost, that it probably was not safe to feel that one was an owner, and the word mercy disappeared from our vocabulary."

Demographic Statistics Published for First Time

LD2109033588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2230 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] The USSR Goskomstat [State Committee on Statistics] has begun publishing a series of thematic statistical collections. This has been undertaken with the aim of extending openness in the field of statistics. The collection "The Population of the USSR—1987" [Naseleniye SSSR 1987] is the first to be published in this series. It contains information about the size and composition of the population and about demographic processes by region.

Information about the urban and rural population, its distribution by sex, age, social groups, level of education, and nationality are covered extensively. Details of the birth and death rate are given. Information about marriage and divorce are cited. Much of the data is being published for the first time. The principal indices are presented in comparison with figures for socialist, developed capitalist, and developing countries. It is planned to bring out new editions annually.

Ukrainian Nationalists' Operations Attacked

AU2009143788 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 16 Sep 88 p 3

[Report by Candidate of Historical Sciences V. Savtsov: "The Failure"]

[Text] They have never disregarded any means. Nearly 50 years ago, feverishly clutching in zealous, sweaty hands the reichsmarks mercifully granted by the occupiers, they ran to the post office to send the Fuehrer a servile cable of gratitude for "the liberation from Bolshevism"; then they organized bloody Sonderkommandos with the romantic names "Roland" and "Nachtigal"; and they dipped the flag while marching past the swastika beneath the standards of the "Galicia" SS division. They filled wells with little children and burned their parents alive; they hanged and slaughtered people, and accepted any fee—from the boots removed from the feet of a person tortured to death a moment before, to "iron crosses" indulgently pinned on their chests....

Since then, the notion "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" and, in particular, one of its most terrible creations, the OUN [Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists], have forever been identified in the historical memory and political world outlook with human wickedness, affliction, cruelty, and treachery.

Years have passed, masters have changed, and the phraseology has been altered. Later on, the OUN swore loyalty not to the fascist "new order" but to the "free world," kept its accounts in foreign banks, not in marks, but in dollars and pounds sterling (how could it exist without fees?), and the Gestapo and Abwehr, before disappearing into oblivion, bequeathed to the U.S. CIA and to other Western special services their commissions involving ideological and political control over the OUN-ites.

But the goal has remained the same: to enter "the land" (that is to say, the Ukraine) on a white horse, or to worm one's way into it secretly through a crack, dragging behind a bagful of little pseudoideas about nationalism, political subversion, and bloody terror.

True enough, in the present times the aforementioned bag has turned into a respectable suitcase with a double bottom concealing foreign currency; modern cameras filled with instructions about espionage; subversive propaganda printouts of bourgeois radio announcers; and even the "revelations" of nationalist emissaries acting under a "respectable" roof. (At the "Information Technology in the United States of America" exhibition that opened in Kiev recently, the author of this report personally heard a guide telling visitors that, point one, he was "thinking like a real Ukrainian nationalist," and, point two, there were "lines in front of Kiev vegetable stores because absolutely all tomatoes from Ukrainian fields were compulsorily transported to Moscow").

But "at home," in the emigre backyards, nationalists commemorate various "jubilees," for example, the "anniversary of the formation of the OUN and the so-called Ukrainian Insurgent Army," periodically convene the so-called "great assemblies," elect the "leadership," and pretend to have political potential.

But quite recently the OUN-ites (and, of course, their imperialist sponsors) received such a terrific blow that it will take them a long time to recover.

What I mean is the joint activity carried out by the USSR KGB and the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Polish People's Republic for nearly 20 years.

...The OUN-ites regarded a Lvov physician, S. Panchishin, as a "suitable" person: At one time, he graduated from Vienna University, and his uncle belonged to the so-called "Ukrainian state administration" proclaimed by Bandera's followers in 1941 in Ukrainian lands temporarily occupied by the Hitlerites. For this reason a certain T. Bilinski, acting on behalf of Western special services and the "central leadership" of the so-called OUN units abroad, recruited Panchishin to be used by those organizations in the interest of the OUN. Apart from contacts with overseas "correspondents," codes, and cash, S. Panchishin received the task of finding a "reliable person" in Kiev who would establish a "base" for the OUN units abroad in the Ukraine's capital city. Shortly after, such a person was found. It was journalist Yu. Panchenko, who was subsequently invited to Poland to meet the aforesaid Bilinski and other OUN emissaries. After a careful check, the "neophyte" received detailed instructions on how to behave in the future, and the OUN units abroad (and the offices of Western special services) filed detailed information about the new agents. The recruiters only failed to take into account one circumstance: As real Soviet patriots, S. Panchishin and Yu. Ivanchenko immediately informed Soviet state security organs about everything. A "game" began, masterfully conducted against Western espionage and subversion dens by our Chekists, Polish intelligence officers, S. Panchishin, and Yu. Ivanchenko, who later reported to their imperialist "employers" on their "successful activity" in the Ukraine. (The OUN evaluated this activity so highly that Bilinski and Panchishin received Bandera-ite awards, and the latter was even appointed as the "chief OUN judge in the land" and co-opted to the so-called "Ukrainian government").

OUN ringleaders and their sponsors are now assessing the damage. After all, for nearly 2 decades the USSR KGB and the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the PPR monitored and foiled all Bandera-ite attempts to create the cells of a nationalist underground in the Ukraine, and revealed in time and foiled the perfidious plans to organize and carry out anti-Soviet activity.

However, the main result of the joint efforts by Soviet and Polish Chekists lay in the fact that, during the operation, they again unmasked the true faces of the OUN-ites and their sponsors, along with their criminal plans.

In this case, the epithet "criminal" has by no means been used for the sake of "the effects of publicity." The plans in question (that were secret and intended for internal use within the leadership of OUN units abroad) are evidence that the main objective of reactionary emigre organizations (which, by the way, must by no means be identified with Ukrainian emigrant labor all over the world) is to upset the revolutionary processes taking place in our country and to undermine the concept of the new thinking proposed by the Soviet Union in the international arena. To substantiate this, let me cite the documents passed on by OUN units abroad to S. Panchishin and Yu. Ivanchenko for the latter's "official use."

As is known, last October the Bandera-ites, with the full support of the White House (and of President R. Reagan personally), held their seventh "great assembly" in New York, which approved a "program of activity" and an address to the Ukrainian people.

As far as the so-called address is concerned, it contained practically nothing except political demagogy and the Bandera-ite attempts to exalt themselves ("It has been found that the ideas of Ukrainian nationalism were a driving force in the liberation processes and in the mobilization of the wide circles of the people for the struggle for their rights, and that the OUN was in the vanguard of this struggle.")

And here are the most eloquent—in terms of their cynicism—"programmatic" theses of the OUN-ites: "The seventh great assembly found that the 'revolutionary' changes and restructuring initiated by Gorbachev were...an attempt to save the empire (in the dictionary of bourgeois nationalists, the Soviet Union—V.S.) from dissolution and collapse.... To the present Kremlin policy we oppose the revolutionary strategy of 'building barricades.'" How concretely? "We do this by spreading the ideas of national independence and the OUN concept of the liberation struggle among wide circles of the people, particularly among the creative intelligentsia, students, workers, and the peasants all over the Ukraine."

Of course, this is wishful thinking. This is why the "center" abroad in its instructions to the mythical "resistance groups" in the Ukraine specified that situation, and in particular it emphasized its interest in "new" information about the attitudes and behavior of Chornovil, Krasivskyy, Osadchyy, and some other persons who have returned from places of confinement. The Bandera-ites were "anxious" to know, first of all, whether the latter remained in their previous nationalist positions, and whether was it possible to count on them to organize and carry out hostile activities. (In addition, the "center" asked S. Panchishin to prepare in advance and to send for examination by the seventh "great assembly" a "program for activity" in the Ukraine under the conditions of democratization and glasnost, as well as to give his opinion about the tactics of subversive activity conducted in the republic under the new conditions.)

The OUN-ites and their bosses pay particular attention to the younger generation. In a special decision adopted on youths "in the Ukraine," the seventh "great assembly" called on the "front of the struggle waged by Ukrainian youths" to take advantage of the "contradictions that have emerged in the socialist system during the restructuring"; to inspire "acts of sabotage, subversion, and demonstrations"; to launch "in the land" more refined propaganda campaign by distributing leaflets and publications, by applying the most up-to-date audio recording and video systems methods in order to engage young people in the struggle "for the freedom and state independence of the Ukraine"; and to expand the "ranks of the Ukrainian underground movement operating on the ideas of the OUN."

However, the undertaking has not been restricted to appeals alone. OUN emissaries are making attempts to penetrate the Ukraine with printed anti-Soviet trash in their baggage. (Some of them, for example, M. Kolomiyets, about whom RADYANSKA UKRAINA wrote in its article "An Interview on the Sly," are, on the contrary, intending to smuggle out of this country materials fabricated during their journeys.) In April 1987, foreign tourists distributed in Kiev and Donetsk more than 1,000 leaflets written on behalf of underground "committees" and "organizations" that allegedly exist in the Ukraine. Such hostile publications distort the substance of restructuring, and call for extremist actions and for organizing illegal groups to fight against the Soviet authorities. Foreign "radio voices," by using such forgeries, hurriedly spread in the air rumors about the existence of a "serious opposition to the CPSU" in our country.

The Bandera-ites publicly and cynically profess their hopes that certain circles in the West will reject the concept of new thinking, that the atmosphere of hostility and confrontation will consolidate, and, in particular, that Soviet-American relations would deteriorate. For this purpose the seventh OUN "great assembly" provocatively stated: "In the United States of America, it is essential to make the American people in all sectors of public life aware of the deadly threat of Russian imperialism to the United States of America and the free world."

Well, this is the myth of a "Soviet threat" according to the OUN's interpretation.... However, the issue is not restricted to propaganda alone. The nationalists have joined in the process, provoked by some people in the West, to foment international conflicts. The normalization of international relations and the relaxation of tensions is deadly dangerous to them. In particular, in line with the "directives" of the seventh OUN "general assembly," "it is essential to intensify our measures for cooperating with the Afghan insurgent movement (the Dushmans—V.S.), and in particular to endeavor to expand the concepts of the liberation struggle waged on the basis of the OUN-ABN (the so-called Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Peoples—a den of reactionary groups—V.S.) from Afghanistan to the territories of the Soviet Union". In addition, it is essential "to win friends for our just struggle among the Jewish people" (the actual point is strengthening cooperation between the anti-Semite OUN and the Zionists, particularly the enraged extremists affiliated with the "Jewish Defense League"). And last but not least, "we propose the ABN concept and formation as the most suitable forum for Ukrainian-Polish cooperation" (the actual objective is to join as closely as possible with antisocialist groups such as "The Confederation of Independent Poland" and "Solidarity"); and so forth.

Well, when the blue nationalist dream comes true and a war breaks out, the OUN (in line with the "programs" proclaimed by it) will follow the patterns set for the Bandera-ites: It will send groups of nationalist "commandos" to carry out acts of subversion and sabotage on Soviet territory, and in the event this territory is occupied by the enemy (I quote): "1. The seizure of power in the field by conscious Ukrainian elements... 2. To organize Ukrainian militia or police everywhere in the field. 3. To organize Ukrainian military units recruited among Ukrainian soldiersw."

That is to say, as in "the old good times": policemen with tridents on their caps, the SS Division "Galicia," and "administrations" in the occupied territories....

Yes, all that already existed, but it ended in a collapse. The very same collapse is in store for the heirs of Hitlerite henchmen—the present bourgeois nationalist "strategists."

Ponomarev Views 'Threat'

LD1709022288 Moscow TASS in English 1615 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 16 TASS—TASS news analyst Viktor Ponomarev writes:

"As in the past, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists is prepared to resort to military methods"...

This threat was uttered by Ilya Dmitrev, vice-president of the association of Ukrainians in Great Britain. He is head of Banderovites in London and his nickname is "Rubizhny". He said that Ukrainian nationalists are waging subversion against the USSR and countries of the socialist community, and fighting for the "independent Ukraine". He uttered his sinister phrase not in a close circle of trusted friends, holding a glass of Gorilka (Ukrainian vodka) in his hand, but before the whole world, through the channels of the British Broadcasting Corporation which is a state organization. And he said this in the capital of Great Britain, which has "given refuge" to Banderovites, following the rout of the German fascists—their former masters.

And what are we to make out of all this?

The Soviet people well remember the meaning of "military methods" used by the "OUNovites" (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists or O.U.N.). These meant—innocent people of the Soviet Ukraine butchered by the nationalists, the bandits' cowardly assassinations, arsons, subversion and terror.

One could recall in this connection how Marlborough was off to the war and what it all came to. But the fact of the matter is that the topic on which the British journalist M. Slonim interviewed the above O.U.N. resident, is too serious for jokes.

The subject on which this Banderovite spilled the beans on the air has long become an open secret.

On September 14 in Kiev Soviet KGB officials and officials from the Interior Ministry of Poland made public some secret documents obtained through a long and involved operational game played with the chiefs of an extremist centre called "beyond-the-border elements of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists". People who participated directly in the counter-intelligence operation, baptized as "Boomerang", spoke about the pernicious scheming of OUNites around Soviet people, about the cannibalist schemes to create nationalist "commandoes", about a program for a total physical annihilation of all those daring to disagree [with] the ravings of the Banderovite chiefs.

The lady-journalist did not question Ilya Dmitrev about the substance of those schemes and programs. One ought to take it then that their interview pursued a different objective, namely to help the chiefs of the extremist centre to get out of that, mildly speaking, unseemly predicament into which they have got themselves by yet another debacle and public exposures. The fact is that the passionate friendship of the people from the British Broadcasting Corporation also ceased to be a secret ten years ago when the BBC made awkward attempts to protect the O.U.N. "tourist" Andrey Klimchuk. It was inside the heels of his dusty shoes that an "appeal of Soviet Ukrainians" (?) got to the Lvov area from Britain, concocted in London's O.U.N. headquarters on the occasion of the Belgrade follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

It looks as if with the years the secret and quite reciprocated love between the two above fawning hearts has, if anything, grown stronger. But love is said to be blind. Is it not for this reason that the BBC has sort of fallen out of our time frame and, the positive and long-awaited changes in international relations notwithstanding, suddenly returned to the propaganda of the O.U.N. terror, propaganda of war the remnants of Banderovites, who are fawned upon in Britain, still rave about.

Murakhovskiy Attends 'Timber Workers' Ceremony

LD1709010488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 16 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] On Sunday, Timber Workers Day will be marked in our country. A ceremony in Moscow today was devoted to this holiday. In the Presidium were Comrade Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, the leaders of ministries and departments, frontrankers in production, scientists, and representatives of the capital's public.

Those taking part in the ceremony talked about conserving and multiplying the country's timber resources, their rational use, the role of the green ocean in the biosphere, and its significance as a raw material in industry.

International Envoys Visit N. Ossetian ASSR

LD1809144488 Moscow TASS in English 1354 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Text] Ordzhonikidze September 18 TASS—Heads of diplomatic missions, charge d'affairs ad interim of countries of Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America and Australia, accredited in the USSR, stayed for two days in the North Ossetian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

The guests had a meeting with leaders of the autonomous republic at the North Ossetian Regional Party Committee. They learned about the course of perestroyka, the economic reform, practical implementation of the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference.

Diplomats showed profound interest in questions of changes taking place in party and social life, management, election system. They visited a motor and tractor electrical equipment plant and made a trip to the Pervomaisky State Farm.

The guests viewed places of interest and memorable places in Ordzhonikidze, familiarized themselves with cultural life in North Ossetia.

Propaganda, Education Discussed at Seminars

PM2109075988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Sep 88 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Discussed at Seminars"]

[Text] What is the significance of the all-union party conference for education and the propaganda of the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy? How can the ideology of renewal be made the property of all the working people? What practical steps have to be taken by party committees to radically improve Marxist-Leninist education?

These and other topical issues of ideological-educational work have been extensively discussed at zonal seminars of party workers and the propaganda aktiv which were held in Alma Ata, Volgograd, Dnepropetrovsk, Irkutsk, Minsk, Moscow, and Tbilisi 8-17 September in accordance with the CPSU Central Committee decision "On the Work of Ulyanovsk Oblast Party Organs To Implement the CPSU Central Committee Resolution 'On the Restructuring of the System of Working People's Political and Economic Education.'"

Taking part in the seminars were chiefs of propaganda and agitation and economic departments of union republic Communist Party central committees and party kraykoms and obkoms, heads of political education centers and Marxism-Leninism university departments, party gorkom and raykom secretaries, and propaganda workers. They were addressed by deputy chiefs of CPSU Central Committee Departments V.V. Zagladin, P.Ya. Slezko, V.A. Mikhaylov, V.N. Sevruk, and other senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee.

At the seminars the first results of the restructuring of the system of political and economic education were subjected to a critical analysis; party committees' tasks in the in-depth elucidation of the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference for the working people were comprehensively discussed; and practical ways to enhance the scientific and methodological standard and effectiveness of party propaganda, to improve Marxist-Leninist training of leading cadres and all Communists, to strengthen the interconnection between ideological-educational, organizational, and economic work and increase its influence on the implementation of the political and economic reforms and the solution of social problems and other tasks of restructuring which brook no delay were defined.

The seminars were attended and addressed by G.V. Kolbin and D.I. Patiashvili, first secretaries of the Kazakh and Georgian Communist Party Central Committees; V.A. Pechennikov, secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee; V.I. Kalashnikov, V.A. Ivashko, and V.I. Potapov, first secretaries of the Volgograd, Dnepropetrovsk, and Irkutsk Party Obkoms; and V.M. Borisenkov and O.A. Korolev, secretaries of the Moscow CPSU Obkom and Gorkom.

Lectures on topical subjects of CPSU theory and policy were delivered at the seminars by Academician G.L. Smirnov, director of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism; Academician V.N. Kurdryavtsev, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law; V.F. Khalipov, head of the chair of scientific communism at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences; O.P. Temushkin, chief of a department of the USSR Supreme Court; G.G. Cheremnykh, RSFSR deputy minister of justice; V.P. Chichkanov, director of the Economics Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences Urals branch; M.S. Kapitsa, director of the Institute of Oriental Studies; V.N. Shostakovskiy, rector of the Moscow Higher Party School; other scientists, senior officials of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR Council of Ministers, Gosplan, AUCCTU, and central ministries and departments.

The seminar participants met with delegates of the all-union party conference and acquainted themselves with the work of political education houses and class rooms; Marxism-Leninism universities; and economic, scientific, and technical propaganda centers. They also acquainted themselves with the progress of preparations in primary party organizations for the new academic year, the organization of mass political work in labor collectives, and the provision of sociocultural services for the population. An exchange of experience took place on questions of party leadership of political and production-economic education and ideological and theoretical tempering of Communists. Much attention was paid to problems of international, moral, and scientific atheist education, the work of amateur associations, the organization of meaningful leisure activities, and the improvement of all ideological work.

Briefs

Church Figure Awarded

Moscow, 19 Sep (TASS)- - Supreme Patriarch-Catholicos of all Armenians Vazgen I has been awarded the Order of the Labor Red Banner for his activity in the cause of peace and in connection with his 80th birthday. The decree by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the award was signed in the Kremlin today. [Excerpt] [*LD2009012888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1114 GMT 19 Sep 88*]

New Airport Planned

Moscow, 19 Sep (TASS)—The Yugoslav firm SCT will build a new airport in Sochi, on the Black Sea coast of the Caucasus. The new airport will be able to handle 2,500 passengers an hour. Construction will begin in the spring and will be completed in 33 months. [Summary] [*LD2009015788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Sep 88*]

Economic

Planning, Budget Commissions Hold Session

LD1909132488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] The first plenary session of the Planning and Budget Commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, with the participation of representatives of other standing commissions, took place in the Kremlin today.

A report on the state plan for the economic and social development of the USSR for the next year and the course of fulfillment of the state plan for 1988 was read by Gosplan First Deputy Chairman Reut.

A report was heard from USSR Finance Minister Gostev on the USSR state budget for next year and the fulfillment of the USSR state budget for 1987.

According to a report by Maslennikov, chairman of the Planning and Budget Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities, the agenda and period for the consideration of the plan and budget for 1989, the course of fulfillment of the plan for 1988, and the fulfillment of the budget for 1987 have been decided. To this end, 18 joint deputies' preparatory committees have been formed.

On the same day, organizational sessions of the preparatory committees took place, at which work plans were confirmed and other matters discussed.

Economic Problems Discussed

LD1909234288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Studio discussion between commentator Aleksandr Ruvinskiy and correspondent Olga Vasilenko on Kremlin meeting of the Planning and Budget Commission; date of meeting not given]

[Text] [Ruvinskiy] I have already mentioned that preparation for a session has begun in the standing commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet. A sitting of the Planning and Budget Commission and representatives of other commissions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities has taken place in the Kremlin. Our correspondent Olga Vasilenko was there. She is now in the studio. Olga, what was new for you in this conversation of deputies? After all, such work is conducted every year before an economic and social program for the next year is adopted at a session.

[Vasilenko] The new thing was that one of those who made a report—Anatoliy Antonovich Reut, first deputy chairman of Gosplan—said that 1989 must be a year of improvement in the economy, a year when enterprises fully go over to financial autonomy and self-financing. The first stage of restructuring in the past 3 years was described. Over this period the critical slide in the economy has been stopped. But there are not, however, so many considerable and marked advances. The new economic thinking is squeezing out our old formulas and forms of work incredibly slowly. The situation in agriculture is generally difficult.

[Ruvinskiy] Yes, in general, due to weather conditions, it is clear even now that the harvest—the grain harvest at least—will be less than last year.

[Vasilenko] Yes, and moreover, strange though it may be, the volume of unfinished construction is growing. How much has been said about this and how many decisions made! But, as a result of new production lines not being commissioned, it is impossible to stop the old ones for reconstruction and modernization, but then the ecological situation also requires this. Some industries are still developing in an extensive way. And the most distressing thing—and the speaker stressed this—is that individual ministries have built into their plans for next year, too, foundations for extensive movement.

[Ruvinskiy] Well, and what way out of this situation is suggested?

[Vasilenko] The way out is by coming out onto a fundamentally new level of independence and responsibility for every enterprise, forming the local budget on a basis of deductions from profits, and strengthening regional financial autonomy, even by a union republic.

[Ruvinskiy] Well, this is according to the experience of Estonia.

[Vasilenko] Yes, Estonia was named, as was Belorussia and Latvia. Incidentally, do you know that the budget of five of our union republics was maintained up to now through state subsidies? Later Boris Ivanovich Gostev, the minister of finance, spoke. He said that we approached the start of the 12th 5-Year Plan with unbalanced finances. Incomes for people grew by more than 8 percent, but there were no goods, nothing to spend them on. The expenditures of the state are also growing quicker than income, unfortunately.

[Ruvinskiy] Well, where and on what do we lose out most?

[Vasilenko] First, who knows better than you, Aleksandr Viktorovich, a commentator on rural matters, how much we lose in growing and fattening? You probably know. And I would like to attract attention to other things, to the following facts: Trips by workers and employees from the towns to the countryside for work costs the state annually R1 billion. Loss-making enterprises give us a huge minus. A question was raised at the sitting, and I consider most correctly, of liquidating such enterprises. And to continue. How hard we seem to be fighting for the implementation of the housing program. But do you know that about R12 million is lost by us every year because new houses are not occupied on time. And after apartments are vacated, many of them stand empty. R50 million is removed from the budget every year by those who do not pay their rent on time. R50 million are stolen every year from the state by fare-dodgers. There are such things, too! Generally, there are a mass of such drains on resources, and we have to get rid of them as soon as possible. After all, we are planning to allocate so much—much more resources than before—for housing, for our health, on culture. We can talk boldly of social reorientation of our economy. Some deputies raised the issue of the plan for next year not being sufficiently balanced. But then the most major work for tomorrow will begin in the preparatory commissions, where every figure and every section of the plan and budget will be subjected to the most thorough analysis.

[Ruvinskiy] Thank you.

Joint Enterprises Association Adopts Rules

LD1909223588 Moscow TASS in English 2118 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—TASS correspondent Mikhail Vladimirov writes:

A constituent meeting of the association of joint enterprises, international organizations and amalgamations of the USSR was held here in heated debates. The participants expressed different, sometimes contradictory, judgments on areas of its activities, but their unanimous opinion was that joint ventures needed an efficient organization that would reflect and protect their common interests.

The heated discussions led to the adoption of rules, which were voted for by the overwhelming majority from 65 joint venture general directors who attended the meeting. The association is therefore a juridical entity which can strike deals, institute branches and construct buildings. But this is a non-commercial public organization. It is not after profits. Its aim is to ensure the interests of joint business undertakings.

The new association will deal with providing its members with information, training skilled cadres, studying normative acts on joint undertakings, and also working out proposals for their perfection. An important area of its activities will be consultation services, assistance in exchange know-how, holding negotiations, seminars, looking for trade partners. Besides, the association will promote solution of social and welfare questions at joint enterprises, provision of staff workers with housing and office facilities.

Lev Vainberg, director of the Soviet-French-Italian enterprise "Interquadro" was elected chairman of the board. Earlier he was head of the council of general directors of joint enterprises. The council ceased to exist now that the association was formed.

Responding to a TASS correspondent, Lev Vainberg underlined that the new association did not have controlling functions and its membership was absolutely voluntary. It can grant membership to all joint enterprises on the USSR's territory and there are exactly one hundred of them registered by now. Besides, foreign firms will be able to participate as corresponding members in activities of that public organization.

When the rules were endorsed and the board elected, the meeting discussed prospects of constructing building to be jointly used by associations members, forming a trade union of workers of joint enterprises, international associations and organizations.

Joint Stock Trading Company Established

LD1909214688 Moscow TASS in English 2045 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—The first joint-stock financial-trading company, Sovfintrade, was set up in the Soviet Union.

Its main task is to promote the development of the Soviet export potential, chairman of the company's board Yuriy Kondratyuk told TASS.

A major field of the new company's activities will be a search for projects in which the Soviet economy is interested.

These may include industrial enterprises or organisations engaged in the services business.

Sovfintrade will also conduct international financial, commercial and other operations to increase the export of Soviet finished goods.

Besides, it intends to render consultation services to Soviet organisations and foreign firms, which will let them participate in the Soviet Union's foreign trade in a more efficient way.

"Sovfintrade differs from other Soviet foreign-trade associations in many aspects," Kondratyuk said.

"We're to become a mediator between Soviet exporters and the world market. In other words, we're ready to help not only market all kinds of Soviet exports, but also use export revenues in the most effective way in the exporters' interests.

"Sovfintrade's financial levers will play a big role here," he said.

The company will help Soviet organisations in conducting commodity-exchange operations, Kondratyuk went on.

The 19 share-holders of the new company include the Ministry of Finance and the State Bank of the USSR, all Soviet specialised banks, a number of foreign-trade associations and firms of Soviet ministries and enterprises.

Sovfintrade was set up as an independent organisation operating on the full cost-accounting basis.

Its capital is 4.5 million rubles in Soviet and foreign currencies.

Expensive Goods Erode Consumer Item Production

PM1509123188 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 15 Sep 88 p 3

[L. Tsvetkov "Summing Up" article: "No Extensions for Debtors"]

[Text] As the USSR State Committee for Statistics has reported, industrial production increased by 4.3 percent in the first 8 months of the year compared with the same period last year. Moreover, in August the increase was nearly 50 percent higher—6.3 percent. The report goes on to say that ministries in all national economic complexes (with the sole exception of the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building) fulfilled and even overfulfilled the profits plan.

A successful picture would appear to be taking shape. But there is a worrying indicator: Pledges on supplies of products were fulfilled by 99.1 percent. It is not the figure itself that is worrying—it has been worse in the past. It is disturbing when you compare it with the 7-month results: a drop of one-tenth of a percent. A small fluctuation, but nonetheless a clear signal that contract discipline is by no means improving.

What is happening, then? For example, in the USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building, 59 percent of the enterprises, that is three in five, are debtors. But profits in the ministry are 2.7 percent higher than planned. In the union Ministry of the Production of Mineral Fertilizers they are over 13 percent higher than the planned level, although consumers have been let down by one labor collective in three.

The explanation of this was given at the latest USSR Council of Ministers session which discussed the draft plan and budget for next year. It was noted that the range of cheap consumer goods is being eroded. Suppliers of industrial engineering products are taking advantage of contract prices and are increasingly solving their financial problems by producing more expensive items.

The USSR Light Industry Ministry is a graphic example of this trend. Overall output of goods at its enterprises has increased by 8 percent since the start of the year. But how does it look when broken down in terms of value? They have started to produce 26 percent more N-coded goods (at correspondingly higher prices, therefore). Production of particularly fashionable (consequently particularly expensive) articles increased 2.4 times. Production of other items fell by 7 percent. So what we have is one enterprise in five failing to meet deliveries, while profits in the ministry as a whole are higher than planned.

Of course, the desire to get more out of the consumer is not the only reason for the violation of supply contracts. There are other objective reasons as far as the enterprises are concerned: material-technical supply problems and underdeveloped wholesale trade. There are subjective reasons too: an inability to organize the job properly under conditions of ever-increasing economic independence. All this put together means that one-half of labor collectives in the electrical equipment, chemical, and automotive industries and two-thirds of the USSR Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building enterprises are joining the ranks of debtors. The level of fulfillment of contract pledges is below the industry average in two national economic complexes: machine building and chemicals-forestry.

It is clear that the economic mechanism regulating these processes needs improvement. But who is going to do it? Life shows that it is no good waiting all the time for recommendations from the center. For example, in the 8-month period, industry in Belorussia and Lithuania and collectives of the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Industry fulfilled pledges to consumers by 99.9 percent. But Gas Industry Ministry enterprises fulfilled them by the full 100 percent. Evidently, sector and republic management bodies can make marked progress if they look hard for a solution rather than seeking a debt extension.

I particularly want to talk about suppliers in the USSR Gosagroprom. Their contract pledge fulfillment indicator for January-August is also quite high: 99.7 percent. It is clear from the statistics report that consumer supplies of food products are gradually improving. Production targets for the basic items were exceeded by 3-6 percent. We are talking about meat, sausage products, butter, cheese, and dairy products, and not only nonalcoholic drinks and mineral water, as in the past. The task now is to fulfill the plan for the whole range of foodstuffs—at the moment fewer meat dumplings and cooked sausages and less smoked sausage and fruit yogurt are being manufactured than planned. The Ministry of Grain Products is coping well with supplies. Only the fishermen are a drag on the agro-industrial complex: their deliveries were fulfilled by 98.8 percent.

Heavy industry enterprises producing nonfood goods must make much more effective use of the remaining weeks of the third and fourth quarters. At the moment one machine building enterprise in three is failing to cope with targets on their production.

Briefs

Cooperative Bank in Moscow

IZVESTIYA has already reported that a cooperative bank has been set up in Chimkent. Now, organizers of cooperatives in Moscow and the Moscow region have also got their own bank. According to the Law on Cooperatives, any union bringing together several cooperatives can establish its own small bank. Having registered its statute with the USSR Gosbank, it has the right to open a ruble and hard currency account with the USSR Bank of Foreign Economic Relations. [Text] [*LD1709232788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 17 Sep 88*]